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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ISRAEL

PART 7

January to December 1955

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

ISRAEL—PART 7

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

VR 1011/1

No. 1

ISRAEL: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1954

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 20)

(No. 11. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, January 18, 1955.

My predecessor, in his despatch No. 264 of December 8, 1953, described the factors contributing to Israel's sense of insecurity in terms which are hardly less valid to-day. The Arab-Israel dispute is no nearer to a solution; the Arab boycott continues; proposals to arm the Arab States still give rise to deep anxiety; the economy is still dependent on external aid; and most Israelis are uncomfortably conscious of their isolation in a world which is increasingly seeking safety in alliances and associations for mutual defence.

2. Nevertheless, it is my impression that there has been, in 1954, a perceptible lightening of the atmosphere. A little more than a year ago, as Sir Francis Evans reported in his despatch No. 260 of December 8, 1953, an increasing number of otherwise responsible Israelis were coming to believe that a renewal of hostilities with the Arab States was inevitable and that, despite the attendant risks, it would pay Israel to provoke a new war before the balance of strength shifted further away from her. To-day I think it would be true to say that no one outside the irresponsible and diminishing group of extreme Right-wing Nationalists and perhaps some of the Opposition Left-wing Socialists seriously advocates the provoking of a new war as a means of salvation—though some, it must be admitted, seem to have come to this conclusion with a reluctance which they hardly attempt to conceal.

3. Similarly, in the economic field, a trend towards realism is perceptible. The prospect of diminishing American aid is accepted; the need for increased productivity is recognised; and it is now possible for Ministers and bankers to say openly,

as they must for years have thought privately, that Israel is trying to live, not merely above her means (which is obvious and, indeed, inevitable), but above the station to which the hard facts of her economic situation and resources entitle her, in the foreseeable future, to aspire.

4. Simultaneously there has been a sufficient improvement in economic conditions to make a more realistic financial and commercial policy less impossible than it must have seemed a few years ago. The 1953-54 citrus crop was a post-war record, and exports of fruit and products realised the equivalent of no less than £13½ million. Recently established industries, such as plywood and pharmaceuticals, made an increasing contribution to export earnings. Total exports during the first ten months of the year rose from £17 million in 1953 to £25½ million in 1954, while imports (excluding reparation goods from Germany) declined from £81 million to £70 million. Thus the balance of trade, though still critical by any ordinary standard, at least showed an improvement, roughly 36 per cent. of commercial imports being covered by export earnings over the first ten months of the year, as compared with 21 per cent. over the same period in 1953. At home prices continued to rise, though less steeply, but the danger of inflation appeared to have been checked. A greater variety of goods in the shops, many of local manufacture, helped to reconcile the public to the continuance of rationing, and the consumer benefited too from a marked increase in the production of non-citrus fruit, vegetables and other agricultural products.

These developments have been coupled with the maintenance throughout the year of a steady rate of building and industrial expansion and an improvement in the system of internal communications. The

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processes of agricultural settlement have continued, albeit at a slow pace. Unemployment figures remained low, while a renewed trickle of immigrants towards the end of the year from North Africa was absorbed without serious problems.

5. In the international field also, though the situation has not changed in any of its essentials, the year saw a steady evolution towards responsibility, some alleviation of Israel's sense of isolation, and a more general acceptance of her dependence not merely on the financial help but also on the good opinion of the Western world. As late as September, it was still possible for Israel to stage a major reprisal raid on Jordan; and the shooting which took place in Jerusalem over four days in June and July showed how easily a minor incident can become a major one and could have led to war. Nevertheless, though frontier incidents continued until the end of the year, reprisals as an instrument of policy were abandoned in September, and the Government stood firm against those in political circles and in the press who maintained that only retaliation would induce the Arab States to take effective steps to prevent infiltration and frontier incidents. Moreover in the latter months of 1954 the Israel Government—assisted no doubt by the replacement of General Bennike by General Burns—adopted a somewhat more co-operative attitude towards the United Nations Treaty Supervision Organisation, accepting a compromise on the vexed question of United Nations patrols and publishing intact, for the first time, the more important rulings of the Mixed Armistice Commission, even when these were adverse to Israel.

6. In her relations with the non-Arab world Israel moved without visible progress during 1954. The reduction in United States aid, plans for the supply of United States arms to the Arab States, and a growing realisation that in the formulation of United States policy in the Middle East political and strategic considerations now heavily outweigh the earlier sentimental attachment to Israel, all combined to cast a certain shadow over Israel-United States relations. The results of the congressional elections in November, following as they did a vigorous propaganda campaign by Zionist organisations in America against the supply of arms to the Arab States, were at first hailed as likely to lead to a resumption of the honeymoon atmosphere of the Truman

epoch and a re-examination of the "pro-Arab" policy of the State Department. But it soon became clear that Israeli expectations had been pitched too high, and voices—among them, in private, the Prime Minister's—were heard to question the wisdom of identifying Israeli hopes too closely with one political party abroad rather than another.

7. Our own relations with Israel followed, in some respects, an opposite pattern. The long-drawn-out negotiations with Egypt about the Suez Canal Zone were followed in Israel with anxious attention, and the Israel Government saw nothing unrealistic in demanding that Her Majesty's Government should use the opportunity to obtain benefits for Israel as well as for themselves. The rejection of this suggestion and the failure of persistent Israeli attempts to obtain from Her Majesty's Government a "clarification" of their intentions and obligations under the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 did not, however, check to any appreciable extent a growing belief that Israel and Great Britain were drawing closer together. The swing in United States policy described above and the successes of British foreign policy at Geneva and in regard to Germany, Trieste and Persia, brought home to responsible Israelis some of the advantages of patience and consistency; and your reaffirmation, Sir, in the House of Commons on November 2 of Her Majesty's Government's obligations under the Tripartite Declaration strengthened the growing belief that it is to the United Kingdom rather than to the United States that Israel must now look for disinterested friendship and advice. Unspoken regrets for the peaceful early days of the mandate have now given way in many quarters to an openly expressed desire for some, undefined, special relationship to the United Kingdom; and it is not only cranks who openly advocate that Israel should in due course apply to join the Commonwealth.

8. As a corollary of this growing inclination towards the United Kingdom, there has been a further falling-off in the numbers and influence of those who hope that Israel might somehow avoid entanglement in the affairs of the Great Powers and perhaps even become part of a third force capable of mediating between the United States and the Soviet Union. The resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the raising of the missions in

both countries to embassies and the ubiquitous *bonhomie* displayed by the Soviet Ambassador here have done nothing to offset the fear and dislike felt here for modern Russia. With greater knowledge of the facts the ideological attraction of communism has worn very thin; but it is probably true to say that hostility towards the Soviet Union is still primarily due to Soviet treatment of the Jews in Russia and to the ambiguous attitude of the Soviet Government in the Arab-Israel dispute rather than to any widespread recognition of the Communist threat to the stability of the Middle East. Whatever the reasons, there is at any rate no doubt that Israeli sympathies are now firmly with the Western Powers in their differences with the Soviet Union. How far Israeli policy would be proof against the unscrupulous use of the weapon which the Soviet Union holds in the shape of 2 million Russian Jews must remain a matter for speculation.

9. I have dealt, so far, with the credit side of the balance-sheet, and it may be convenient at this point to sum up the favourable trends which have become apparent in the course of 1954. Apart from the improvement in the economic situation, I would describe these as an increased sense of responsibility in foreign affairs; a growing awareness that other countries have their problems too; less inclination to act first and consider the consequences afterwards; and a slight but perceptible tendency to admit, not perhaps that the other man may be right, but at least that his wrongness does not necessarily spring from malice or hostility—except, of course, when he is an Arab. Given the febrile intensity and irresponsibility of Israeli politics (and all Israelis are politicians), these are major advances; and I think that much of the credit for them must go to Mr. Sharett, who replaced Mr. Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister in January. Indeed, the improvement in Israel's international manners during 1954 reflects exactly the gradual consolidation of Mr. Sharett's authority in the country, within his party and the coalition and, not least, over the army. Lacking his predecessor's dynamism and fervour, he is never likely to compete with him in popular esteem or to rank, as Ben-Gurion does, as one of the heroic figures of the young State; yet there must be many Israelis who find him an altogether more comfortable sort of person to have as Prime Minister; and who would be well content

to see Ben-Gurion continue to play the combined rôles of elder statesman, philosopher and one-man ginger group from his desert retreat at Sde-Boker.

10. The prospects of Mr. Sharett retaining his office and further consolidating his authority are outside the scope of this despatch. But I think it is worth emphasising that they depend upon the degree of success which may attend his policy of moderation. Though the desire for a quiet life is growing, it is still a fairly insignificant factor in the ordinary Israeli's political aspirations when compared with his desire to see the Arab States forced to accept the existence of Israel and his own country playing a major part in world affairs. He is prepared to support a policy of moderation on condition that in due course it produces some concrete evidence of success. Unstable, unsure of himself and at the same time self-assertive and prone to violence, he is convinced that both the Almighty and the world have unpaid debts to Israel; and, if collection proves difficult, he is prepared to distraint not only upon the property of his hostile neighbours in the Arab States but also on the goodwill or patience of friendly countries.

11. It is these defects of character, rather than the obvious weakness of Israel's geographical and material position, which to my mind make up the debit side of the balance-sheet which I have attempted to draw up in this despatch. To them must be attributed the Israel Government's ineradicable tendency to confuse ends and means, to adopt means which defeat, instead of contributing to, their ends, and to regard the putting of their opponents publicly in the wrong as a serious contribution to the establishment of their own rights. The year 1954 saw many examples of these regrettable tendencies. In April the Israel Government tried to use the procedures of the Security Council to force the Jordan Government into direct negotiation. Though Israel was right and Jordan wrong, the attempt failed, as it was bound to, with no other result than an increase in tension. Similarly, in September, the Israel Government thought it expedient to put to the test the closure of the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping by attempting to send the *Bat Galim*, a small vessel of a few hundred tons, through the Canal to Haifa under the Israeli flag. They may genuinely have believed that the Egyptian régime, insecure and pre-occupied with the Canal Zone negotiations,

would weakly allow the vessel to proceed; certainly, this interpretation would be consistent with the favourite Israeli illusion that Arabs respond only to "firm" treatment. But it seems more likely that they expected from the start that the vessel would be seized and that they would then be able to put Egypt in the international dock at Lake Success. They may have hoped that, with the provisions of the Suez Canal Convention and the 1951 resolution of the Security Council demonstrating the rightness of Israel's stand, the Great Powers would have no option but to oblige Egypt to give way, thus opening the Canal to Israeli shipping, undermining the Arab League's economic boycott, and demonstrating to the world that right—or any rate Israel's rights—will always triumph in the end. They probably calculated that, failing this, their action would at least serve to keep the issue before the Western Powers, who would otherwise be inclined to put off indefinitely any further assault on this uncomfortable problem. When the year closed it was already becoming clear that Israel had once again failed to take account of the hard political facts of the situation; for, although the Egyptian Government had announced its intention of repatriating the crew of the *Bat Galim* northwards and releasing the ship to the south, it was obvious that they would not in any circumstances allow the ship to proceed through the Canal, and that the Western Powers were not prepared to imperil their own improving relations with Egypt in a fruitless attempt to force further concessions. All that the Israelis had achieved, in fact, was to demonstrate to the Egyptians that for the time being they could continue the blockade with impunity.

12. Examples could be multiplied of this wrong-headed refusal to admit the possibility of any distinction between what is right or legitimate if considered in isolation and what is feasible or advantageous if considered in the wider context of the world as it is. That it irritates Israel's friends is perhaps of less significance than its effect upon her enemies. The sincerity of Israel's desire for peace with her neighbours need not be doubted; but she has still to learn how to make it possible for her neighbours to believe in her sincerity.

13. I enclose a chronological list of the main events of 1954.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

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Enclosure

SUMMARY OF EVENTS FOR 1954

- January**
- 1 Her Majesty's Government asked Israel Government to proceed with release of all Arab blocked accounts.
 - 16 Israel Government informed in confidence that Her Majesty's Government intended shortly to station an R.A.F. jet squadron at Amman.
 - 26 Mr. Sharett, as Prime Minister in succession to Mr. Ben-Gurion, received a vote of confidence for his Coalition Government of Mapai, General Zionists, Hapoal Mizrahi and Mizrahi.
 - 28 Israel Government informed in confidence of the proposed move of a British armoured squadron to Ma'an for joint training with Arab Legion.
- February**
- 1 Progressive Party entered the Coalition Government.
 - 16 Abolition of capital punishment for murder.
- March**
- 19 Israeli bus was attacked at Ma'ale Akrahim, commonly called Scorpion's Pass, in the Negev. Eleven Israelis were killed and two wounded. The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission was unable to fix responsibility for lack of evidence.
 - 25 Israel Government addressed a Note to the United States Government, protesting at supply of arms to Arab States.
 - 29 Israel withdrew from the M.A.C. and asked the three Western Powers for an early meeting of the Security Council to consider the incident at Scorpion's Pass. Israel ceased attending meetings with Jordanians under Local Commanders' Agreement.
 - The Soviet Union vetoed in the Security Council a New Zealand Resolution expressing grave concern over Egypt's interference with shipping passing through the Suez Canal to Egypt.
 - 30 The M.A.C., in the absence of Israel member, condemned Israel for an assault by a large group of militarily-trained Israelis on the village of Nahalim, near Bethlehem.
 - 31 Ordinary Budget for fiscal year beginning April 1, 1954, totalling Israeli £571 million, approved by Knesset.
- April**
- 5 Israel submitted to the Security Council comprehensive complaint, accusing Jordan of violating various articles of the Armistice Agreement.
- May**
- 1 Mr. Byroade, United States Assistant Under-Secretary of State, delivered a major speech about the Middle East to American Council of Judaism. This followed closely on another speech on the same subject. Both were unanimously regarded in Israel as hostile, and formal protests were made to the State Department by the Israel Ambassador in Washington.

May

- 9 Second Congress of World Sephardic Federation held in Jerusalem, and passed a resolution calling for increased immigration.
- 30 Government subsidy on fuel withdrawn.

June

- 10 Mr. Ben-Gurion called for the creation of a united non-party youth movement.
- 18 Mr. Eric Johnstone, President Eisenhower's personal representative, visited Israel to discuss the development of the region's water supplies.
- 20 Her Majesty's Representative and the United States Ambassador presented to Israel Prime Minister proposals, supported also by the French Government, for improvement of the border situation.
- 21 A Burmese Civil and Military Government Mission arrived in Israel.
- 30 Serious shooting, which lasted sporadically for four days, broke out between Israel and Jordan forces in Jerusalem.

July

- 11 Chief of Staff, Israel Defence Forces, left for United States on a month's visit.
- 12 Israel formally admitted to membership of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
- 18-20 Conference of the Progressive Party discussed without conclusion a proposal for fusion with the General Zionist Party.
- 21 General Council of the World Zionist Movement met in Jerusalem.
- 26 A charter was signed by representative of Israel Government and the World Zionist Movement, laying down functions of Zionist Executive.
- 29 The Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs informed all diplomatic missions that in future diplomatic representatives would be expected to present letters of credence in Jerusalem.

August

- 1 Abolition of subsidies on sugar and tea.
- 10 As a result of an agreement between Israel and the Soviet Union to raise their legations to embassies the Soviet representative presented his credentials as ambassador to the President in Jerusalem.
- 15 Moderate elements in the extreme Left-wing Socialist party, Mapam, left to form a new Left Socialist party, Le'Achdut Ha'avodah, less closely tied to the policies of the Soviet Union.
- 19 Major-General E. L. M. Burns, D.S.O., O.B.E., arrived in Jerusalem to succeed General Bennike as Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation.

September

- 1 Israel reprisal attack on Jordan village of Beit Liqya.
- 7 Development Budget of Israeli £196 million approved by Knesset.
- 16 Central Committee of Mapai adopted a resolution proposed by Mr. Ben-Gurion for the introduction of a constituency system.

September

- 21 Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, in the course of a reply to an anti-Israel démarche by the Arab States, expressed Her Majesty's Government's readiness to lend their good offices in assisting discussions between Israel and the Arab States.
- 22 Israel Ambassador delivered to Foreign Office an aide-mémoire expressing concern at effect on Israel of Anglo-Egyptian Agreement.
- 25 Mr. Rafael, Adviser on Arab Affairs to the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs, broadcast in Arabic Israel's proposals for peace.
- 27 After long negotiations over the provision of sterling by Barclays, the Israel Government and Barclays Bank, D. C. & O., issued a joint statement announcing the Israel Government's intention to free all blocked Arab accounts and safe deposits.

September

- 28 Egyptian Government seized an Israeli vessel, the *Bat Galim*, in the southern approaches to the Suez Canal, and claimed that it had fired on and killed some Egyptian fishermen. Israel appealed to the Security Council.
- 30 Her Majesty's Ambassador, Sir Francis Evans, left Israel on transfer to Buenos Aires.

October

- 7 The Security Council met to consider Israeli complaint about free transit of the Suez Canal with reference to the Egyptian seizure of the *Bat Galim*. Discussion was postponed pending a report from the Mixed Armistice Commission.
- Israel representative to the Security Council proposed a non-aggression agreement between Israel and the Arab States.
- 19 Israel Ambassador in London was given a reply to his Note of September 22, and told Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to elaborate on how they would fulfil their obligations under the Tripartite Declaration.
- 20 Israel returned to the Israel-Jordan M.A.C. This followed the replacement of Commander Hutchison, United States Navy, by Lieutenant-Colonel Brewster, United States Army, as Chairman of the M.A.C.

November

- 2 The Secretary of State, in a statement in the House of Commons, reaffirmed Her Majesty's Government's commitments under the Tripartite Declaration of 1950.
- 3 Israel Delegation to United Nations General Assembly announced Israel Government's readiness to pay compensation to Arab refugees, provided they could negotiate necessary foreign loans and if Arab States lifted economic blockade.
- 10 Her Majesty's Ambassador presented his letters of credence to the President in Jerusalem.
- 11 General Burns made proposals to the Egyptian and Israel Governments for the better control of the Armistice lines in the Gaza Area.

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November

- 12 The United States Ambassador, Mr. Edward B. Lawson, presented his letters of credence to the President in Jerusalem.
- 24-28 Mr. Evelyn Shuckburgh, Under-Secretary of State in charge of Middle East Affairs, visited Israel in the course of a tour of the Middle East.
- 29 The Mixed Armistice Commission decided that in entering Egyptian territorial waters to pass through the Suez Canal the *Bat Galim* had not broken the Armistice Agreement.

December

- 1 Formal opening of the Bank of Israel.
- 12 Trial opened in Cairo of thirteen Egyptian Jews on charges of sabotage and spying on behalf of Israel.
- 13 Israel Air Force planes forced down to Lydda Syrian passenger aircraft on the ground that it had entered without signals Israel's control zone. The passengers and crew and plane were released two days later.

VR 1051/4

No. 2

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON FEBRUARY 10, 1955

Sir Anthony Eden to Mr. Nicholls (Tel Aviv)

(No. 26. Confidential) *Foreign Office, February 10, 1955.*
Sir,

The Israeli Ambassador asked to see me this afternoon, and said that he had a certain communication to make to me on behalf of his Government before I started off on my tour. First of all, he had been instructed to express the deep gratitude of the Israeli Government for the statements I had made emphasising the Tripartite Declaration and our attitude towards it. They were no less grateful for the efforts which they knew we had made to reduce tension on the Israel-Jordan frontier. Although the situation there was not, of course, yet wholly satisfactory, there had been a marked improvement, and the Israeli Government knew how much this had been due to us. They felt sure that I understood that the action we had been able to take had also helped the internal situation in Israel. It had enabled the Israeli Government to deal with the more extreme elements, which were always a problem.

2. The Ambassador went on to speak of the Turkish-Iraqi agreement. He said that Israel had to recognise that the situation in the Middle East was no longer static. It was undergoing certain modifications. The arrangement between Turkey and Iraq was one of them. Israel could have no criticism of arrangements for the defence of the area. But as these arrangements grew, Israel's sense of isolation would inevitably increase.

3. I told the Ambassador that I saw no reason why the Israeli Government should take a gloomy view of the prospect of an agreement between Turkey and Iraq. We had always been trying to make our Arab friends take a wider view of world dangers instead of concentrating on their differences with Israel. Iraq was now doing just this, and the Pact should surely be welcomed. Moreover, Turkey was known to be friendly to Israel, and her influence, like ours, would no doubt be used to try and reduce tension between Israel and the Arab States.

4. The Ambassador admitted the force of this, but continued to speak of the Israeli feeling that though the country had friendly relations with a number of States, including

ourselves and the United States, there were no actual bilateral arrangements between them and any of us. What would we think of making some bilateral arrangement with Israel? Could not that eventually be fitted into the general pattern of Middle Eastern defence? His Government had instructed him to ask me what I thought of this.

5. I said that of course we had already certain undertakings, shared with others, towards Israel, and, as the Ambassador had said, I had recently reaffirmed these. As to a bilateral arrangement, I would of course consider what his Government had proposed. At the same time, I had to bear in mind the wider picture. What we wanted to achieve was peace in the Middle East. To do that we must reduce tension between the Arab States and Israel. If we were to take action which made this task more difficult, we would not be helping Israel. Therefore I would like to think over more carefully what the Ambassador had suggested and see how it fitted into the general pattern of the work we were trying to do.

6. The Ambassador said that he quite understood, and would report what I had said to his Government.

7. The Ambassador then raised the question of armaments, and said that long since we had promised Israel some Centurion tanks—he thought twenty. They had in fact never been delivered. He understood that we were now sending a few Centurion tanks to Egypt, and he hoped that Israel could look forward to the delivery of some of her order. A very few tanks would not be of any help for operational reasons. Therefore they hoped we would send at least a dozen.

8. I said the Ambassador knew how hard I was trying to prevent anything in the nature of an arms race in the Middle East. Jordan had no tanks. If we were to send twelve Centurions to Israel, it would certainly create great alarm in Jordan. It was true that we were making some small deliveries to Egypt, but these were all in respect of orders accepted, and most of

them paid for, many years ago. In fact the Egyptians had been reasonable in accepting the small quotas we had sent them. I would, however, look further into this question since he had raised it. But I felt bound to remind his Excellency that the general view was that from the military point of view Israel was already considerably stronger than her neighbours. This brought a lengthy argument from the Ambassador explaining how all Arab armaments must be added up together if the totals were to be compared with those of Israel. I merely commented that Arab unity at this moment hardly seemed to justify such a calculation.

9. Finally the Ambassador said that he had been instructed by his Government to explain to me that the Israeli Government "were not looking for trouble." If I could impress this upon the Egyptian Government and anyone else I saw in the Middle East, it would be most helpful. Gaza was an area about which the Israelis felt some

concern. Could I give a warning about that?

10. I said that I had already spoken to the Egyptian Ambassador about this very area earlier to-day, and I hoped that Israel would be equally watchful. It was clearly the most dangerous point now that the position on the Israel-Jordan frontier was quieter.

11. The Ambassador concluded the interview by expressing every good wish for my journey and hoping that it might lead to some further relaxation of tension between the Arab States and Israel.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Paris and Washington and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Nicosia.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

VR 10317/1

No. 3

FRENCH RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received February 24)

(No. 30. Secret)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,

February 22, 1955.

I have read with great interest Sir Gladwyn Jebb's letter to Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick of February 5 weighing the advantages and disadvantages of holding a discussion with the French on the whole range of Middle Eastern and North African policy. In this context the assessment of French aims and influence in Israel which I now have the honour to submit may be opportune.

2. I believe that the principal aim of French policy in Israel is to secure enough influence to justify France's claim to a substantial, if not equal, share with the United Kingdom and the United States of America in developing a joint policy towards the Middle East as a whole. A secondary purpose may be to establish a special position in Israel as compensation for France's loss of influence and prestige in Syria and the Lebanon.

3. France's formal political standing as a Great Power in this area is based, so far as Israel is concerned, on the Tripartite Declaration of May 1950 which, by virtue of the responsibilities which it entails for the French Government, gives them the right to press their advice on the Israel Government so far as dealings with the Arab world are concerned. Nevertheless, as France plainly does not dispose of the military strength to honour the guarantees to Israel implicit in the Tripartite Declaration, this does not of itself give her very much influence. However, France's very lack of real political responsibility permits her, if she chooses, to offer the Israelis palatable rather than sound advice and even, on occasion, as for example over the supply of arms, to take irresponsible action to secure Israeli goodwill. This same lack of direct responsibility, I suspect, enables the Quai d'Orsay to accord the French Embassy in Tel Aviv substantial latitude in the interpretation of policies supposedly agreed on by the French Government with the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom.

4. The French have undoubtedly been pursuing an irresponsible policy in supplying arms to Israel beyond the quantities agreed on with the United Kingdom and the United States in the Near East Arms Co-ordinating Committee. The French Embassy here has made exceptional efforts to build up close connexions with the Israel Ministry of Defence and the Israel Defence Forces. It is significant that in June of last year, at a moment when relations between the United States and Israel were as cool as they have ever been, the Chief of Staff of the Israel defence forces was officially invited to France and decorated as a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur, immediately after he had been refused the invitation to the United States for which he had been angling. These efforts on the part of the French have borne a good deal of fruit. The Israelis have already bought substantial quantities of military, particularly air force, equipment in France, and it is noteworthy that the new head of the aeronautical section of the Israel Government's purchasing mission is to live in Paris, whereas his predecessor lived in London. Similarly, the Israelis have recently abandoned their original intentions of sending an air attaché to London who would also be accredited in Paris, and have decided that instead he should live in Paris and visit London.

5. Though French advice is not backed by the forces which must command respect from any Israeli Government for the views of Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government, it derives some persuasiveness from an apparent, if superficial, identity of interests between France and Israel. Both countries are deeply suspicious of the Arab League, and both are determined to frustrate Iraqi projects for the unity of the Fertile Crescent. Many Israelis suspect that because of their strategic and economic interests in the Arab world, Britain and the United States would, if forced to a choice, back the Arabs against Israel, and conclude that for this reason their advice on anything affecting the

Arabs must be suspect. They do not have the same feeling about France.

6. The French also exercise a certain amount of influence through their educational and cultural institutions, which they exploit with their customary skill. In Turkish days French was widely spoken in Palestine. During the mandate, it was almost entirely replaced by English, as a second language, but the French convents, schools and hospitals survived. These are still flourishing and efficient. Moreover, although English is far more widely used than French, the arrival in Israel since 1948 of large numbers of French-speaking immigrants from North Africa has given the French language renewed currency. France has also concluded an agreement with Israel for co-operation on certain aspects of atomic research, and the Franco-Israel Commercial Agreement provides for substantial sales of French books to Israel.

7. France's record on the issue of anti-semitism has, I believe, on the whole been good. The traditionally tolerant attitude of the French *bourgeoisie*, and the assistance offered to Jews by the French Resistance during the last war, are more remembered than either the prejudices of those restricted circles in France which have never forgotten the Dreyfus affair, or the collaboration of the French Milice with Nazi anti-semitism under Vichy. The French administrations in North Africa have protected the Jewish communities, and French sympathy, and even active assistance, during the period of illegal immigration to Palestine, in defiance of the British mandate, is not entirely forgotten. There is therefore in this country a basis of friendly feeling for France, though admittedly neither very intense nor very widespread.

8. The French are undoubtedly making a determined effort to make the most of these rather slender means of increasing their influence. The French Embassy here is not significantly smaller than my own, and my French colleague is extremely active. He is a considerable linguist, and has taken the trouble to develop the grounding of classical Hebrew, which he acquired during his early studies of Oriental languages, into a remarkably fluent command of the spoken word as employed in modern Israel. He travels the country a good deal, cultivates the press, makes speeches in Hebrew, and has undoubtedly established a considerable reputation for himself as a warm sympathiser of Israel. In paragraph 3

of this despatch I suggested that the French, because of their lack of direct responsibility, might advise the Israelis unwisely. I have no evidence that my French colleague has in fact done so. I have little doubt, however, that he feels considerably less inhibited than myself or my United States colleague in expressing his sympathy for Israel's difficulties and understanding of her complaints. Certainly he has made no secret of his opinion that the Western Powers have made themselves ridiculous by their self-imposed restrictions on dealing with the Israeli Government in Jerusalem.

9. I doubt if the French efforts have achieved much success so far. Little is written about France in the press, and in political comment it is unusual to see any mention of French policy towards the Middle East except under the collective heading of "Western" policy. Only the Herut Nationalists, who regard Israel's dependence on the United States and the inhibitions imposed on her policies by the Anglo-Jordan treaty as diluting her national sovereignty, advocate the cultivation of a Franco-Israel alliance.

10. So long as Israel can feel reasonably confident of the sympathy and the basic support of the United States and the United Kingdom in her difficulties with the Arab world, French influence in Israel is unlikely to increase greatly or to produce any seriously mischievous effect except in the field of arms supply. Here the French could seriously disrupt our policy of balance and restriction by persisting in their present independent deliveries to Israel.

11. If, however, the Israel Government should feel that the interests of the United States and the United Kingdom in the Arab world were leading them to disregard Israel, I would expect the Israelis to become more susceptible to French influence and advice. The Israelis are not yet a politically stable people, and if oppressed beyond a certain point by fear of being abandoned to an Arab attack, either immediate or future, there is a real risk of their embarking on adventurous policies which would be dangerous for our plans in the whole region. It would therefore certainly be an advantage to us if we could rely on French advice being in line with our own.

12. In Israel, as elsewhere in the Middle East, the strength of the French lies in their nuisance value. This is not at present great in Israel; but it would grow in proportion with any further deterioration in relations

between the Arab States and Israel, since in such circumstances Western solidarity in dealing with the Middle East would be of cardinal importance.

13. I think that this analysis of French aims and influence in Israel tends to support Sir Gladwyn Jebb's wider arguments for attempting to reach a general agreement with France about the Middle East. I doubt, however, whether the local considerations

which I have described provide in themselves a decisive reason for doing so.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Damascus, Beirut, Bagdad, Ankara, Cairo and Tripoli, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Nicosia.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

VR 1092/78

No. 4

GAZA INCIDENT

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 10)

(No. 36. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, March 8, 1955.*
Sir,

In my telegram No. 50 of March 2, I reported briefly my belief that the Israeli attack in the Gaza area on February 28 was a premeditated act of retaliation. I now have the honour to submit the following analysis of the events which led up to it.

2. In the review of the year 1954 which I made in my despatch No. 11 of January 19, I recorded an appreciable lightening of the atmosphere at the end of the year, as compared with the end of 1953. This improvement reached its peak during December last, when the effect of your speech in the House of Commons on November 2 on the Arab-Israel problem, and Mr. Shuckburgh's tour of the Middle East, had combined to raise hopes here that a settlement of Israel's differences with the Arab world might after all not be so far around the corner. Encouraging reports were then reaching the Israelis, both from diplomatic sources (including ourselves) and from their own contacts, that Colonel Nasser did not exclude the possibility of a settlement with Israel in due course. At the same time there was a noticeable falling-off of infiltration from both Jordan and the Gaza Strip, and General Burns' purposeful and tactful activities were raising the prestige of the U.N.T.S.O. These circumstances combined to consolidate Mr. Sharett's authority, both within his own Government and in the country at large, and seemed to confirm the wisdom of his policy of restraint and diplomatic co-operation with the Western Powers.

3. This year began with certain shadows already apparent on this brighter prospect. On December 21 one of the thirteen Egyptian Jews on trial in Cairo on charges of espionage and sabotage committed suicide, and on January 13 the abortive discussions in the Security Council on the *Bat Galim* ended with nothing more encouraging than a restatement of the Western Powers' attitude to free passage through the Canal and pious hopes that, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff of the U.N.T.S.O., continued efforts at conciliation by both sides would speedily lead

to agreement for the release of the vessel. Nevertheless, on January 17 the Prime Minister felt confident enough of his policy and of general support for it to make the forthright speech in the Knesset reported in my despatch No. 20 of February 1, in which he claimed that border security had improved during recent months and insisted that Israel must choose whether to be a State of anarchy or law, and whether to guide her policy by sanity and foresight, or by giving free rein to wild instincts. From that date, events conspired against the Prime Minister and his policy of restraint, to reveal how shallow were its foundations, and how close to the surface are the dangers of short-sighted and emotional reactions by Israel to the harsh and unpalatable facts of her position in the Middle East.

4. On the day following Mr. Sharett's speech in the Knesset, two Israelis were murdered in their beds at Agur, near the Jordan frontier, and though subsequently the Jordanians arrested suspects whom they have not yet been able to bring to trial, the United Nations Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission was precluded by lack of evidence from giving Israel the moral satisfaction of seeing Jordan blamed for the crime. Inevitably Mr. Sharett's critics on all sides accused him of complacency.

5. On January 31, two of the Egyptian Jews were hanged in Cairo, in spite of the efforts to secure a reprieve made by Her Majesty's Government and the United States and French Governments, of which the Israel Government were kept privately informed.

6. Meanwhile on January 13, the Prime Ministers of Iraq and Turkey had announced in Bagdad their intention to sign a pact which would include in its terms the endorsement of United Nations resolutions and provision for joint action against aggression, from inside or outside the Middle Eastern region. The Israel Government expressed alarm that the acceptance by Turkey of these hostile clauses would encourage Arab intransigence, and that the

dispute between Egypt and Iraq, to which the announcement of the proposed pact gave rise, would lead both countries to support their claims to leadership of the Arab world by intensifying their enmity of Israel. The Israelis remained sceptical of Western reasoning that the pact, by strengthening the Western defence against communism and increasing the influence of Turkey, basically sympathetic to Israel, would eventually prove advantageous. The Government derived some comfort from the report of their Ambassador in Ankara that the Turkish Prime Minister, M. Menderes, had told him that it was 98 per cent. certain that there would be no reference to the objectionable clauses in the final text of the pact, and that Turkey's attitude to Israel would remain unchanged. Her Majesty's Government's similar expectations, expressed to Mr. Elath by Mr. Shuckburgh on February 18, appeared to support this hopeful prophecy. The announcement on February 26 of the exchange of letters between the Turkish and Iraqi Prime Ministers annexed to the pact, in which they both specifically undertook to work for putting into effect the United Nations resolutions about Palestine, therefore came as a very severe shock to Mr. Sharett, and his policy.

7. Throughout this period, when events were moving unfavourably for Israel, Mr. Lavon, then Minister of Defence, was pressing for an active policy to stop the regular though not abnormal infiltration into Israel from Jordan and, more particularly, from Gaza. Although the Israel authorities claim to have definite evidence that infiltration from Gaza was organised by the Egyptian military authorities there, Mr. Sharett resisted Mr. Lavon's demands and felt strong enough to handle the issue so firmly that he resigned. Fearful that the appearance of a split within the party would impair Mapai's prospects at the general elections, Mr. Sharett then took the bold, and perhaps dangerous, step of asking Mr. Ben Gurion to leave his desert retreat and join the Government as Minister of Defence. This change was made on February 24, just before the announcement that the Turkish-Iraqi pact had been concluded.

8. There is no doubt that the army, who have always stood for an active policy towards the border problem, welcomed Mr. Lavon's replacement by Mr. Ben Gurion. Though Mr. Lavon had shared

the views of the military about the border, he was not personally popular with them, and they probably felt that because of his personal inability to get on with his colleagues he failed to secure proper support for their policies. It seems likely that, when reviewing the border situation on assuming his new office, Mr. Ben Gurion was faced with demands by the military for a preventive raid on the Gaza Strip. On February 23, the day before Mr. Ben Gurion joined the Cabinet, a military headquarters was raided near Rishon le Zion, one of the oldest Jewish towns in Israel, some 15 kilom. south of Tel Aviv, and certain maps and papers were removed. Two days later, a cyclist was killed on the main road near Rehovot, another old-established town close to Rishon le Zion. The Israel authorities are convinced that an armed gang from Gaza was responsible for both events and yesterday the Mixed Armistice Commission blamed Egypt for the murder of the cyclist. There was undoubtedly a feeling in the country that these two acts, perpetrated deep in Israel territory, were different in kind from the regular forays, whether armed or simply for theft, directed against the border settlements. The military demand for action was thus reinforced by the Government's fear of criticism that they were unable to safeguard the lives of citizens against marauders, even on main roads in the heart of the country. The Left-wing opposition party, Le'Ahdut Avoda, which last August split from Mapam on the issue of Russian anti-Zionism, has recently been campaigning against Mapai on a nationalist ticket, and the Mapai leaders have been alarmed at the possibility of losing votes to the Left, both in the Histadrut elections next May and the general elections next August.

9. It is probable that Mr. Ben Gurion, with the prestige of his past reputation heightened by the popular acclaim which met his return to office, pressed on Mr. Sharett and the Government the need for a strong demonstration against Gaza designed to oblige the Egyptians to put an end to organised marauding and espionage, restore confidence in the Government's ability to protect its citizens, and off-set recent diplomatic defeats. Mr. Sharett, with nothing tangible to show for his policy of restraint, was in no position to resist, and it may even be that, in his disillusionment over the Turco-Iraqi pact, he was in no mood to do so. My Canadian colleague told me that when he called on Mr. Sharett

VR 1092/78

No. 4

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Sir,*Tel Aviv,
March 8, 1955.*

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the views of the military about the border, he was not personally popular with them, and they probably felt that because of his personal inability to get on with his colleagues he failed to secure proper support for their policies. It seems likely that, when reviewing the border situation on assuming his new office, Mr. Ben Gurion was faced with demands by the military for a preventive raid on the Gaza Strip. On February 23, the day before Mr. Ben Gurion joined the Cabinet, a military headquarters was raided near Rishon le Zion, one of the oldest Jewish towns in Israel, some 15 kilom. south of Tel Aviv, and certain maps and papers were removed. Two days later, a cyclist was killed on the main road near Rehovot, another old-established town close to Rishon le Zion. The Israel authorities are convinced that an armed gang from Gaza was responsible for both events and yesterday the Mixed Armistice Commission blamed Egypt for the murder of the cyclist. There was undoubtedly a feeling in the country that these two acts, perpetrated deep in Israel territory, were different in kind from the regular forays, whether armed or simply for theft, directed against the border settlements. The military demand for action was thus reinforced by the Government's fear of criticism that they were unable to safeguard the lives of citizens against marauders, even on main roads in the heart of the country. The Left-wing opposition party, Le'Ahdut Avoda, which last August split from Mapam on the issue of Russian anti-Zionism, has recently been campaigning against Mapai on a nationalist ticket, and the Mapai leaders have been alarmed at the possibility of losing votes to the Left, both in the Histadrut elections next May and the general elections next August.

9. It is probable that Mr. Ben Gurion, with the prestige of his past reputation heightened by the popular acclaim which met his return to office, pressed on Mr. Sharett and the Government the need for a strong demonstration against Gaza designed to oblige the Egyptians to put an end to organised marauding and espionage, restore confidence in the Government's ability to protect its citizens, and off-set recent diplomatic defeats. Mr. Sharett, with nothing tangible to show for his policy of restraint, was in no position to resist, and it may even be that, in his disillusionment over the Turco-Iraqi pact, he was in no mood to do so. My Canadian colleague told me that when he called on Mr. Sharett

the day before the attack on Gaza, the Prime Minister spoke of his own troubles in the Cabinet, and said that his personal position was becoming increasingly difficult.

10. When I remonstrated with the Prime Minister after the attack on Gaza about the harmful effects of the change of policy which the incident had revealed, he denied that there had been any such change. He said that his policy remained, as in the past, to reduce tension on the frontier, and that for this reason he had opposed and continued to oppose, a policy of reprisals; but that no Government could renounce the right to act decisively in defence of security if the situation became intolerable. This, of course, was casuistry; the fact is that, whereas three months ago Mr. Sharett was prepared to accept a substantial degree of infiltration, and even loss of life, without reprisal, and was strong enough to impose his policy, external and political factors, on this occasion at least, weakened his position to a point where he was unable to do so. He was probably in no position to give full weight to international considerations, and may have hoped that by authorising a single act of retaliation he

would release the pressure against him and be able afterwards to return to his policy of restraint.

11. I fear that we must accept that Mr. Sharett's policy of restraint, at any rate in the form of an absolute refusal to allow reprisals in any circumstances, is no longer secure. It has foundered once on the unstable and emotional attitude which characterises the majority of Israelis when living under the very real and constant pressure to which they are undoubtedly subject and it would be rash to exclude the possibility that it may do so again unless he can show some evidence that it offers better prospects of peace and security than the Old Testament methods to which many of his compatriots are prone.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Ankara, Bagdad, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jedda, Washington, Paris, Cairo, to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Nicosia.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

VR 1072/22

No. 5

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN ISRAEL KNESSET

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 17)

(No. 38. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, March 14, 1955.*
Sir,

I have the honour to submit the fuller report on the debate on the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs promised in my telegram No. 60 of March 4. The debate, instead of being as one might have hoped a serious consideration of the wider issues of Israel's foreign policy, turned almost exclusively on the Turco-Iraqi pact and the incident at Gaza, news of which was received during its course.

2. The reaction to the Gaza attack followed the lines which one has come to expect over incidents of this nature. No one criticised the Government for authorising, or at least for condoning, the retaliatory raid, and none questioned the wisdom of a policy of reprisals. One of the principal spokesmen of Mapai, Mr. Livneh, voiced the general feeling of the Knesset when he said that the Israel Government had no choice but to do what they had done. Israel, he said, did not seek a war, and should strike only in reply to aggression, ensuring in so far as it was possible that civilians did not suffer from such attacks. Nevertheless, effective and responsible reprisals obviated the need for more frequent action. Similar views were expressed by spokesmen of the other major coalition party, the General Zionists, and endorsed by the Prime Minister, who delivered himself of a general warning and appeal to Egypt. He said that it was the ardent desire of Israel to be a state of law (this was a reference to his speech in defence of his policy of restraint on January 17, reported in my despatch No. 20 of February 1). It must, however, be clear that the obligations of the Armistice Agreement, including the undertaking to advance towards a comprehensive peace settlement, must be observed by both sides. If Egypt, in defiance of the supreme United Nations authority, kept proclaiming that she maintained and was entitled to maintain a state of war against Israel, then she must face the consequences, including armed clashes, especially if provoked by Egypt. The choice was between the present state of affairs with all the losses and perils with

which it was fraught, and complete abstention from acts of hostility, a scrupulous fulfilment of the Armistice Agreement, and a determined progress towards peace. It was up to Egypt to decide.

3. The Turco-Iraqi pact came in for widespread comment and was condemned by all speakers, including the Prime Minister, as a powerful new stimulant to Arab hostility towards Israel. Mr. Sharett, nevertheless, warned against over-exaggeration both of the immediate impact of the treaty upon the security of Israel, and of the adverse effect which the pact would have upon the friendship between Israel and Turkey, which, according to Mr. Sharett, would in any case be maintained.

4. The Prime Minister directed his main criticism at the exchange of letters annexed to the treaty, and to the omission from the latter of an undertaking by both parties to refrain from the use of force in the settlement of any dispute which might break out in their international relations. The substitution, for such a clause, of an article committing the parties merely to settle peacefully disputes between themselves was, Mr. Sharett claimed, of particular significance. He described as "a fantastic principle" and "a preposterous doctrine" the undertaking given by Turkey and Iraq to co-operate in carrying out United Nations resolutions on Palestine. Political and geo-political realities would make it impossible to pursue such a policy, and any attempt to do so would work against peace and would be liable to serve as justification for the resumption of aggression.

5. Mr. Sharett was also critical of the part played by Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government in the conclusion of the pact. He informed the Knesset that a discussion had been in progress for months past between Israel and the United States, and also between Israel and the United Kingdom, with regard to the entire process of the conclusion of military assistance and mutual defence agreements with Arab States, which was altering the political balance within the region and beyond to Israel's detriment,

and aggravating the dangers with which the problem of her security was faced. Even if Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government did not intend or foresee that the treaty between Turkey and Iraq would eventually assume the form which it in fact had, or that it would contain elements so pernicious, they could not in Israel's estimation divest themselves of responsibility for the document itself or for its consequences. In general, if the major Western Powers took the initiative and assumed the responsibility in organising the region for purposes of external defence, they thereby inevitably made themselves responsible for the effect of this activity upon the position of each State within the region. They could draw consequences from this responsibility or choose to ignore it—but their responsibility as such remained. Against this background, Mr. Sharett continued, Israel had to consider the problem of an effective guarantee for her territorial integrity and its defence against any aggression. She would therefore continue to impress upon those concerned (by implication Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government) the responsibility that rested upon them, and ask for such help as they

owed to Israel in the face of a situation created as a result of their policy.

6. Mr. Sharett gave short shrift to Left-wing speakers who criticised the Government's pro-Western and specifically pro-United States policy, and advocated either "neutrality" or closer relations with the Soviet Union and China. Mr. Sharett said that Israel was vitally interested in having good relations with the Soviet Union, but that no barren sophistry could undermine the decisive international facts; the discussion in which Israel was at present engaged was between Israel and the Western world, and it had sense and purpose because only in the countries of the Western world could an appeal be made to public opinion which was free to listen and be impressed by the statement of the Israeli case.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's representatives in Cairo, Washington, Paris, Ankara, Bagdad, to the United Kingdom Delegate to the United Nations, New York, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Nicosia.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

SECRET

VR 1071/71

No. 6

ISRAELI REACTIONS TO SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTIONS ON THE GAZA FRONTIER SITUATION

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 12)

(No. 46. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tel Aviv,
April 4, 1955.*

Now that the Security Council has completed its consideration of Egypt's complaint about the Israeli attack on Gaza on the 28th of February, and of Israel's counter-complaint, I have the honour to report upon the impact locally of the Council's deliberations, and upon Israeli reactions to the two resolutions unanimously adopted by the Council.

2. From the start of the proceedings in the Security Council the tone of the Israeli press was markedly defensive. Reports of the prompt public condemnation by Her Majesty's Government of the Gaza raid, and the subsequent private rebuke administered to Mr. Sharett by Mr. Dulles, had left no doubt in any minds as to the grave view taken of the incident by the Western Powers, and the main task of the Government's propaganda machine and of the press was, therefore, not so much to prepare public opinion for the inevitable condemnation as to emphasise the provocation to which Israel had been subjected and the inequity of dealing with the Gaza incident in isolation. General Burns' report was acclaimed as an honest attempt at objectivity; but no one seriously supposed that it would lead the Security Council to apportion its censure equally. The tone of the speeches in the Security Council and the terms of the condemnatory resolution therefore came as no surprise. The speeches of the representatives of the three Western Powers were fully reported, on the whole without adverse comment. Attention was drawn in particular to M. Hoppenot's clear call to Israel to recognise the decision of the Council at its full value as a final warning. Some exception has been taken to his remark but—coming from the representative of France—it seems to have brought home to Israeli opinion that an official policy of reprisal and retaliation might well land Israel in real trouble. It has not, however, escaped the notice of the Israelis that the Egyptian call for sanctions was ignored both in the speeches of the members of the Council and in the resolution. This has given some satisfaction.

3. Although the Israelis would undoubtedly have preferred an even wider debate on relations between Egypt and Israel and, by extension, between Israel and the Arab States as a whole, they have derived some comfort from the fact that, in its second resolution, the Security Council recognised that responsibility for the present insecurity and tension devolved upon Egypt as well as upon Israel. They feel that they owe this very largely to General Burns and his standing here will certainly have been enhanced by the objectivity and fairness of his report. They have also shown gratification at the understanding of Israel's position revealed in the speeches of the Western representatives on the second item. The sympathy expressed by these representatives at the Pattish attack was noted with appreciation.

4. As for the resolution itself, most of the more responsible papers assume that Israel will co-operate to the full with General Burns in any efforts made by him to improve the border situation. It has already been announced that the Israel Government have accepted two of General Burns' proposals, namely, direct contact between Israeli and Egyptian local commanders, and the erection of a physical barrier along the demarcation line. There is, however, little disposition to believe in the efficacy of these proposals or of any others that may be brought forward. The Israelis maintain that proposals of this nature can only be effective if there is a genuine desire on both sides to make them work. They are convinced that no such desire exists on the Egyptian side and cite the succession of incidents which have occurred since the Gaza attack as conclusive evidence of this. Nevertheless, both in the press and in private conversation the view has been widely expressed that Israel will have to give General Burns' proposals a fair trial—either on the ground that they might do some good, however little, or because Israel cannot afford to seem unco-operative. I would not, therefore, expect the Israeli authorities to be unduly obstructive when General Burns gets down to discussions with the two parties on his return from New York.

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5. Though the general effect of the Security Council debate and resolutions has undoubtedly been salutary, it would be rash to assume that it will be a lasting one. Unfortunately, incidents along the Gaza Strip have, if anything, increased in number since the Security Council meetings, and the news received on April 4 of yet another major clash between the armed forces of Israel and Egypt, in which fatal casualties were suffered by both sides, shows just how explosive a situation remains. It is unfortunately not improved by injudicious and inopportune statements by members of the Israel Government, as for example a letter from the Minister of Defence to the Chief of Staff, the text of which was published on April 4, officially congratulating the paratroop unit entrusted with the Gaza attack upon their courage and devotion to duty.

6. On the whole I am inclined to believe that the Israel Government will now seek a new, and if possible dramatic, political solution before considering the desperate step of the Israeli Government, as for example step of authorising military action in defiance of the Security Council and world opinion. It is not, I think, unlikely that they will lay the whole issue again before the Security Council, propose (publicly or

privately) a meeting between Mr. Sharett and Colonel Nasser, and proclaim their intention of denouncing the Armistice Agreement if no solution is reached. Though this is, of course, pure speculation, some such gesture seems to me inherently probable; for, in the present temper of public opinion, the Israel Government (with elections only a few months away) cannot afford to appear passive in the face of further major incidents along the Gaza border. Moreover, though denunciation of the Armistice Agreement would no doubt be accompanied by a disclaimer of any intention to attack Egypt, the gesture—or even the threat of denunciation—would plainly increase tension along the frontier; and the Israel Government would calculate that, even if this failed to produce the desired effect on Egypt, it would at least oblige the Western Powers to seek a radical solution.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris and Cairo, to the United Kingdom Delegate to the United Nations, New York, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Nicosia, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

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VR 1118/1

No. 7

ISRAEL BUDGET FOR 1955-56

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 12)

(No. 47 E. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tel Aviv,
April 5, 1955.*

With reference to my predecessor's despatch No. 71 E. of the 6th of April, 1954, I have the honour to inform you that the Knesset gave final approval on the 31st of March to the Israel Ordinary Budget for the fiscal year beginning on the 1st of April, 1955. Following last year's pattern a great deal of time was devoted to the study of detailed figures and to a number of amendments tabled by the General Zionists and the Opposition parties. The amendments however were systematically rejected and the budget, as passed, remains substantially in the form in which the Minister of Finance announced it to the public in November and introduced formally to Parliament early last month. The total remains at £1.631 millions, representing a 10 per cent. increase over the 1954 figure. The breakdown of the totals of expenditure and revenue are set out at Annex A.

2. The mild political storm to which the presentation of the draft budget gave rise was described in my letter of the 18th of January to Mr. Falla (1011/4/55). Fortunately this crisis was resolved by the last-minute decision of the leaders of the General Zionist Party not to make the budget the occasion for abandoning the coalition. They accordingly gave their full support in the budget vote on the 31st of March.

3. The State's ordinary expenditure appears to be allocated to the various Ministries by and large in the same proportions as last year, the Ministry of Labour receiving a slightly larger share in the distribution. But the general increases probably do no more than reflect the moderate rise in the cost of living expected in the next 12 months. The reduction in the food subsidies is in accord with the recognised economic policy of the Government. The appropriations for the Ministry of Defence (£1.56 millions) and the special budgets (£1.66 millions) remain by far the most significant items in the list.

4. In the revenue estimates direct and indirect taxation is scheduled this year to yield about £1.300 millions, some £1.40 millions more than last year's figure. Income tax will account for approximately half of the additional yield. The financing of development projects, which have been estimated this year for budgetary purposes at £1.192.5 millions, is based as usual upon the receipts of unearned income from abroad. Their realisation thus depends largely on the size of the 1955-56 United States Grant-in-Aid as well as on income from Jewish contributions, the sale of bonds and reparations deliveries from Germany.

5. In contrast to the degree of interest shown in the presentation of previous budgets the annual exercise has this year evoked no remarkable comment, except in the political context, either from the Press or the public at large. Thus independent newspapers have contented themselves with welcoming it as being in the main realistic, having regard to Israel's present economic position and the undoubted progress achieved in 1954. They point out that the deflationary policies which Mr. Eshkol has maintained since assuming office and the efforts in the direction of development and investment which he has advanced unrelentingly in spite of considerable obstacles, have borne fruit. It has been noted however that the Government have apparently taken no account in their calculations of the need to finance large-scale immigration from North Africa which it is their declared purpose to encourage by every means in their power. The heavy burden of taxation is accepted because most people are beginning to understand the vital necessity of maintaining the normal services adequately in addition to a strong bulwark of defence. The experience of 1954 has shown that, given a reasonable amount of external aid, it is within the capacity of the State to sustain them.

6. I propose to examine in a separate despatch the plans for the distribution of this year's development funds, which are shown under the heading of Extraordinaries in Annex A.

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7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representative at Washington, the Head of the British Middle East Office at Cyprus, the Development Division of the British Middle East Office at Beirut, Her Majesty's Treasury Representative at Cairo, Her Majesty's Treasury, and to Commercial Relations and Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

ANNEX A

ISRAEL ORDINARY BUDGET ESTIMATES

1st April, 1955-31st March, 1956

REVENUE

	£l.
<i>Ordinary Revenue</i>	<i>1955-56</i>
Income Tax (excluding local authorities)	125,500,000
Property Tax	3,500,000
Land Improvement Tax	500,000
Inheritance Tax	500,000
Customs Duties (General)	43,000,000
Customs Duties (Fuel)	33,000,000
Excise on Tobacco	15,500,000
Excise on Liquor	8,500,000
Excise on Cement	16,000,000
Excise on Tyres	1,500,000
Purchase Tax	26,125,000
Foreign Travel Tax	1,200,000
Revenue Stamp Tax (including Entertainment)	5,500,000
Licence Fees	7,800,000
Property Registration Fees... ..	1,500,000
Miscellaneous Service Fees... ..	6,000,000
Collections on account of interest... ..	16,000,000
Total	311,625,000

Posts and Communications

Posts	23,500,000
Post Office Bank	200,000
Ports and Airfields	10,600,000
Railways	5,400,000
Total	39,700,000

Extraordinary Revenue

Reparations Counterpart Fund	68,500,000
Grant-in-Aid Counterpart Fund	67,500,000
Independence and Development Loans	45,000,000
Repayment of Loans and Government Property... ..	23,200,000
Development Authority and Sales of houses	10,000,000
Compulsory Loan and Property Tax	9,000,000
Loans from domestic insurance, pension and benevolent funds	30,000,000
Difference in rates of exchange applicable to counterpart funds	8,000,000
Installation of telephones	1,300,000
Transferred revenue	17,275,000
Total	279,775,000
Grand Total	631,100,000

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EXPENDITURE

	£l.
<i>Ordinary Expenditure</i>	<i>1955-56</i>
President's Office	88,000
The Knesset	1,106,000
Ministers	95,000
Prime Minister's Office	3,885,000
Ministry of Finance... ..	13,700,000
Ministry of Defence... ..	56,000,000
Ministry of Health	20,050,000
Ministry of Religious Affairs	2,508,000
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10,159,000
Ministry of Education	26,665,000
Ministry of Agriculture	5,588,000
Ministry of Commerce and Industry	4,010,000
Ministry of Police	21,075,000
Ministry of Justice	3,248,000
Ministry of Social Welfare	9,275,000
Ministry of Labour	18,125,000
Ministry of Development	565,000
Ministry of Interior	3,474,000
State Comptroller's Office	1,290,000
Invalids' Pensions and Rehabilitation	4,534,000
Technical Aid	1,500,000
Pensions and Compensation to Civil Servants	330,000
General Reserve	2,955,000
Food Subsidies	10,000,000
Special Budgets	66,000,000
Interest Payments	25,400,000
Total	311,625,000

Posts and Communications

Total	39,700,000
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Extraordinary Expenditure

Development Budget	192,500,000
Debt Repayment	50,000,000
Revolving Funds	20,000,000
Miscellaneous Expenditure	17,275,000
Total	279,775,000
Grand Total	631,100,000

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VR 1072/171

No. 8

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE
ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON JUNE 14, 1955

Mr. Macmillan to Mr. Nicholls (Tel Aviv)

(No. 97. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *June 14, 1955.*

The Israeli Ambassador called to-day at his own request. He repeated in effect what he had said to Mr. Shuckburgh on June 2. He was in a mildly apologetic mood. His main point was the old complaint that we have made a lot of special treaties with the Arab world and nothing comparable with the Israelis.

2. I told the Ambassador that we regarded our obligations under the Tripartite Declaration as giving full protection, and that we were now considering what measures we should take if there should be an act of aggression by one side or the other. We would certainly not fail to take them.

3. The Ambassador admitted that the Israelis were to blame for the Gaza raid of February 28, but claimed that it was the result of provocation.

4. The only new thing the Ambassador said was that they had now agreed with Mr. Johnston about the water scheme.

5. He stated categorically that there was no question whatever of any deliberate act of aggression on the Israeli side. Nor had they any intention of violating the armistice agreement. But if there were raids, there would be counter-raids.

6. I replied that this gave point to our determined efforts to help General Burns

with his proposal for joint patrols on the border which would lead to peaceful conditions. I thought that the Israelis had not been very forthcoming and begged his Government to help over this. I would then do the same with the Egyptians. But unless the Israeli Government were more forthcoming it was useless to put forward practical proposals for easing tension.

7. I do not think the interview led to anything new, except that I think the Ambassador would hardly have taken his general attitude, which was friendly, if he had had knowledge of a plan of aggression by the Israeli Government. He made some reference to the danger of extremists on his side and of the growth of militarism.

8. On the question of the arms equilibrium, I said that it was our intention to preserve this equilibrium, but that it was not so easy since the war now that we and the Americans no longer had the monopoly.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Amman, Ankara, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Paris and Washington, to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Nicosia, the Head of the United Kingdom Delegation at New York and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

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VR 1015/29

No. 9

ISRAEL: ELECTIONS TO THE THIRD KNESSET

Mr. Nicholls to Mr. Macmillan. (Received August 4)

(No. 101. Confidential)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,
August 2, 1955.

In my despatch No. 98 of the 26th of July, written on the eve of the elections to the Third Knesset, I described briefly the electoral campaign and expressed the view that a moderate and stable government would only be likely to emerge if the General Zionists' expected losses were small, if the Progressives achieved their expected gains and if Achdut Avoda gained at the expense of its former partner Mapam rather than of Mapai.

2. The results of the elections, which I had the honour to summarise in my telegram No. 250 of the 29th of July, have signally failed to fulfil these conditions. The General Zionists did, indeed, lose; but their losses (10.9 per cent. of the electorate as compared with 16.1 per cent., and 13 seats instead of 20) were unexpectedly severe. The Progressives did, indeed, improve their position (4.6 per cent. instead of 3.2 per cent., and 6 seats instead of 4) but their gains were too small to make any appreciable difference to the alignment of parties. Achdut Avoda did, indeed, gain, and gain substantially, but at the expense of Mapai and not of Mapam, who also contrived to improve their position. The religious parties—Agudat and the religious bloc comprising Mizrahi and Hapoel-Mizrahi—also made appreciable gains. Finally, Herut—the extreme Right-wing Nationalist Party—gained no less than 8 seats, largely at the expense of the General Zionists, and is now the second strongest party in the State. I annex a table⁽¹⁾ setting out the provisional results of these changes as compared with the voting in 1951 and the number of seats held in the Knesset immediately prior to the elections.

3. In 1951, the total population of Israel was 1,421,000, the electorate totalled approximately 883,000 and 695,000 voters went to the polls. The population has now reached 1,722,902, the electorate totals 1,060,000, and approximately 840,000 (or 79 per cent.) voted. The differences between the figures for 1951 and those for 1955 are accounted for mainly by immigration, chiefly from Africa and Asia and it is tempting to ascribe the startling changes in party strengths, and their unexpectedness, to the unpredictable immigrant vote. This was undoubtedly an important factor, but it can hardly have been decisive, for it did not affect significantly the distribution of votes in the Histadrut elections last April. That the two main coalition parties—Mapai and the General Zionists—should lose some votes to the Opposition Parties on their Left and Right respectively was natural enough. That they should lose so many was altogether unexpected and merits closer examination.

4. In the case of Mapai, I attribute part of their failure to a pretty widespread feeling of uneasiness about the dominance of the Mapai-Histadrut nexus in every aspect of the citizen's life, from the Labour Exchanges and Health Insurance to the local administration and the public utilities. The fact that the influence of Mapai and the machinery of the Histadrut are on the whole devoted to sound and beneficial ends is not sufficient to reconcile the average Israeli to the existence of this State within a State. Mapai lost votes also by bad electoral campaigning; they paid too little attention to the new immigrants' settlements, and their speakers on the whole were uninspiring. Mr. Ben-Gurion drew vast audiences, but his singular preoccupation with electoral reform and his messianic advocacy of the colonisation of the Negev probably lost him more votes than they gained; for the first topic left his audiences cold while the second created a certain sense of uneasiness in the minds of his hearers, who had no wish to be forcibly transplanted to the hot and barren wastes south of Beersheba. Foreign policy played no small part in the campaign, and Mapai's policy of what might be called moderate moderation exposed them to damaging attacks from all those, to Right and Left, who claimed that by oscillating between conciliation and reprisals Mapai had shown itself incapable of securing either a settlement with the Arabs or a guarantee from the West.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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5. The decline of the General Zionists, though much larger, was perhaps more natural and could perhaps have been foreseen. They lack leaders with personal appeal, and their belief in free enterprise accorded ill with participation in a predominantly Socialist government. They were vulnerable, too, to Herut's claim that their support of free enterprise meant support of big business and not of the small independent trader and professional man. At the First Knesset they had only 7 seats; their gains in the 1951 elections were due largely to dissatisfaction with the inefficiency of Mapai's rationing policy and economic controls, and were to that extent fortuitous; and they were unable (in my opinion rightly so) to convince the electorate in 1955 that the improvement which had taken place since 1951 was the result of their influence within the coalition. The Kastner case which was reported in my Chancery's letter 1011/36/55 of the 5th of July, was also not without its effect on their fortunes; they were widely blamed not so much for leaving the Government on this issue a few weeks before the elections as for having taken four years to discover that their chief partner in the Government was morally and politically unworthy of their co-operation. (The same criticism, in reverse, was also applied to Mapai.)

6. More interesting than the reasons for the decline of the General Zionists and Mapai are the reasons for the gains of Herut and Achdut Avoda. Both parties are "activist" in inspiration, and one current but over-simplified interpretation of their gains is that nearly a quarter of the voting population has declared its dissatisfaction with the "moderate" policy of Mr. Sharett and its desire for a tougher line with Israel's Arab neighbours. There is something in this theory; and, right or wrong, it is likely to affect the attitude of the next Government towards the problems of border security. But I think that both parties gained not so much because of the appeal of their respective programmes as because both were well led and because each was the obvious alternative for the voter who was dissatisfied with the General Zionists or with Mapai, as the case might be. Achdut Avoda, with its emphasis on "active defensiveness," independence of foreign ties and social justice, made a strong appeal to the young voter. Herut's advance was a triumph of demagoguery; its leader, Beigin, is a brilliant speaker, and he exploited mercifully the ignorance and inexperience of the immigrant voter. I am told that he made great play at meetings with the figures of foreign aid, pretending to calculate what share of the total a particular member of the audience should have received for his family, and then asking dramatically how much he had in fact received. Herut also posed, with a surprising degree of success, as the only "Peace Party," by claiming that whereas other parties argued whether moderation or retaliation was the best method of maintaining the *status quo*, only Herut had a programme which would solve the border problem once and for all and bring peace with the Arabs. That the programme called for the incorporation into Israel of the Gaza Strip and all Jordan territory west of the Jordan, and that this could only be achieved by a bloody war, seems not to have struck many of the more ignorant voters as odd, or inconsistent with the claim to stand for peace.

7. The result of the elections must, I think, give ground for a good deal of disquiet. No Government can be formed without Mapai, and Mapai can only form a Government with the co-operation of one or both of the religious groups and either the General Zionists or Achdut Avoda. Both combinations would be inherently unstable, for the defection of either the General Zionists or Achdut Avoda would deprive the coalition of its working majority. The General Zionists, who attribute their defeat to their association with Mapai in a subordinate and ineffective role over the past four years, are unlikely to accept office except on terms which Mapai would find it difficult and perhaps impossible to accept. Indeed, a split has already developed in their leadership on lines which suggest that the party may decide to remain in opposition and seek to recover the support it has lost to Herut by advocating a more activist policy. Achdut Avoda, on the other hand, need to consolidate their gains by participating in the Government; and many observers think that they would willingly forswear their strongest principles—even their opposition to alignment with the West—in order to do so. This, however, remains to be seen, and I would not venture to go further at present than to say that a coalition based on Achdut Avoda's support seems slightly more likely than the reconstitution of the former coalition. Mr. Ben-Gurion would, I believe, be even more strongly opposed to the latter course than to becoming head of a weak but "progressive" coalition including Achdut Avoda. The eventual choice between the two possible combinations may well determine his own future.

For the present, all the indications are that there will be a long and frustrating period of inter-party negotiation before any viable government can be formed.

8. Senior officials with whom I have discussed the elections (Ministers in general are away recuperating from their campaigning efforts) do not conceal their regret and anxiety at the results. Characteristically—since nothing Israeli can be wholly bad—some of them claim that in two respects at least the result of the elections has been positively good. First, seven of the 18 competing parties have been completely eliminated. This can be accepted as a modest improvement. Secondly, the Communist share of the total vote has remained roughly stationary so that the party will probably have the same number of seats as in 1951 and two less than it held in the Second Knesset after the succession of Dr. Sneh and Mr. Berman from Mapam to Communism. As one of my acquaintances said, with every appearance of conviction, Israel can be glad that the votes of social misfits and malcontents, which anywhere else in the world would have gone to the Communists, have here been transferred to Herut. Whether that is a matter for congratulation I take leave to doubt.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Cairo and Washington, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

JACK NICHOLLS.

VR 1076/294G

No. 10

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1955

Mr. Macmillan to Mr. Nicholls (Tel Aviv)

(No. 174. Secret)

Sir,

*Foreign Office,
September 15, 1955.*

The Israeli Ambassador called on me to-day. As I expected, after expressing his appreciation of the motives and the general line of Mr. Dulles' proposals, he went on to raise the question of the guarantee. He argued that to make the guarantees conditional on a comprehensive settlement was to give a veto to the Arabs. I said that I agreed with the American Government that the guarantee must follow a settlement. But I reminded him that the best line the Israel Government could take would be to accept the proposals in broad terms and to make it clear that they were ready for their part to sit round a table and discuss a settlement. This would put them in a very good position. He agreed about this, but said he had instructions to raise the question of the guarantee as he had done. On frontiers I told him that we could not possibly guarantee frontiers which everybody regarded as unsatisfactory. At the same time, while the Arabs took their stand on the United Nations Resolution of 1947 and the Israelis on their present frontiers as the result of war, we felt that some accommodation must be made and could be made if both sides wanted it. The Ambassador then remarked that he felt sure that the Arabs never wanted a settlement and would never agree to one. I replied that that seemed all the more reason for the Israelis being ready to negotiate. He raised the point about refugees and our settlement. Choosing my words carefully, I replied that we thought it reasonable that Israel should be asked to find homes for a limited number of those refugees who wish to return. If this principle were not preserved, at any rate symbolically, it was hard to see how the Arabs, who take their stand on a most explicit United Nations resolution, could be expected to make a settlement.

2. Mr. Elath was, as always, very pleasant, but he said that he was in difficulties and under great pressure. He then raised two further points.

(i) The Centurion Tanks to Egypt have had a very painful effect upon Israel. He represented that we refused to send Centurion Tanks to the Israelis and they did not feel that the balance is kept at all fair. They were also worried about the outstanding orders for their two Air Squadrons. I said I would look into the whole question of arms again, but it presented us with great trouble and difficulty.

(ii) He then discussed the question of the increasing Arab pressure on the economic front. He gave me a recent example. After the shooting down of their machine in Bulgaria the Israelis made an agreement with one of our charter companies (the Hunting Clan Company I believe), to give them the services which were needed. They were forced to cancel this agreement by Arab pressure. This is going on all the time. What were they to do?

I suggested that the only thing to do was to help Mr. Dulles and us in a negotiation which would bring about an end to the present situation.

3. Finally, the Ambassador raised the question of the latest invasion of maritime rights (Gulf of Aqaba) by the Egyptians. He said he would send me an aide-memoire about it. I asked him whether he had seen the statement of the Foreign Office spokesman which he agreed was very satisfactory. The Ambassador gave me the impression of being under strict orders to raise these points, but since he is so sympathetic and friendly to the British, he raised them in the most agreeable way possible, and was anxious, having done his work, to indulge in a general conversation about the problems of Israel and the Middle East at large.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda and Washington, to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Nicosia and to Heads of the United Kingdom Delegations in New York and Paris.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

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VR 1015/40

No. 11

IMPRESSIONS OF MR. R. H. TURTON OF A VISIT TO ISRAEL AND THE ISRAEL SECTOR OF JERUSALEM, SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1955

First impressions are not necessarily wrong; and as I was the first Foreign Office Minister to visit Israel it may be of interest if I record some of the impressions which I formed during my brief visit.

2. Crossing the frontier at the Mandelbaum Gate, I was immediately struck by a difference in atmosphere. Even compared with the "boom" town of Amman, Israel Jerusalem appears to be a hive of purposeful activity. Although Israeli planning has been pretty haphazard (the roads in particular are suicidal), the pace of material progress is very marked. I found myself, however, less exhilarated than oppressed by the sense of this intensity of living.

3. In part this feeling stems from the genuine claustrophobia and insecurity which this tiny country naturally feels with hostile States all around. (It was noteworthy that the pumping stations on the Negev pipeline, as well as the pipes themselves, are to be buried deep underground "for security reasons.") But I do not believe that this nervous tension comes only from physical insecurity; there are other causes, below the surface, which would still operate, and perhaps even more strongly, if the external threat were removed.

4. The sources of internal tension are of several kinds:—

(a) Racial

Although we are accustomed to thinking of a single world-wide "Jewish race," it is no paradox to describe Israel as the "melting-pot of the Jews," subject to all the political and social strains which that phrase implies. The earlier immigrants came from Russia, and Western Europe. Recent immigration has been from North Africa, the Yemen and even Cochin China. Slavonic "thoroughness" and guile are in strong contrast with the poverty and inefficiency of the Yemenis. At present the "Russians" seem to dominate Israeli politics and "Westerners" the administration. But the birthrate of the Eastern element is tremendous and, as time goes on, Zionism is going to assume a new complexion.

(b) Economic

There is an unsound basis to the economy. The spiritual urge of Zionism sent them to the land. Agriculture and forestry are not merely the most important industries, but the index of their Zionist progress.

There is a wide disparity between the Western and African or Eastern agricultural settlements. By and large their cultivations are reasonably good, but their animal husbandry is poor.

The two main crops seemed to be maize and cotton, the maize mostly for grain production, not for silage. Cotton is their agricultural pride; they are producing very fine crops of a long staple cotton. They have in two years increased their cotton acreage by 500 per cent. But it must be highly uneconomic. Unskilled manual labour in Israel is scarce and extremely expensive. I was told at Ashkelon by the Town Clerk that acres of cotton stood unpicked and likely to be wasted because no one could be found willing to earn £1.10 daily on casual cotton picking.

I could not escape the conclusion that the primary purpose of these agricultural settlements was defensive rather than economic. The settlement villages are spattered along both the Jordan and Gaza frontiers, with much of their arable land behind them away from the frontier, and armed police pill-boxes slightly in front of the villages. They are forward defence localities as well as agricultural settlements. The Town Clerk of Ashkelon naively explained the purpose of their ambitious new town and pleasure resort as being primarily strategic, as near the frontier as possible. It was amusing to see the consternation in the Israeli diplomatic face when this remark slipped out.

It is clear that, as the settlements multiply on the frontier, they will, without an export outlet, soon be producing a glut of many agricultural products.

Equally the blockage cripples their manufactures. We saw two large factories producing water pipes. Their Negev projects will take all their output for many years to come. However, at Beersheba I was shown their major industrial enterprise

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in the town, the production of sanitary appliances. The product was of poor workmanship, due to the quality of the clay. I was assured that the output each month was sufficient for Israel's annual need of this commodity. Their neighbours, because of the blockade, will refuse to become customers, and in any event because of their customs do not require the appliance. Indeed to the new Israeli settlers the product will seem stange and undesirable. I am convinced that, without the flow of subscriptions from World Jewry, the economy of Israel would soon founder. Electricity is brought to Beersheba from near Tel Aviv. Water is to be brought from Lake Tiberias. They confessed to me that the Southern Negev was not worth the labour of cultivation.

In my view, the present shortage of labour in Israel will soon become acute. As the young settlers propagate, the ratio of non-producers to producers will increase, and their system of collective settlements does not encourage the growth of a labour force. It is clear that their economy would be greatly strengthened if the Arab refugees returned and carried out the menial tasks for which the Jew is by temperament unsuited.

One other development is worth noting. Israel has been founded as an egalitarian State. This is creating great hardship for the professional classes. I was informed that civil service salaries, in relation to the wages for unskilled labour, bore a ratio of approximately 1.6 to 1.0. Family increments are paid as an additional wage. A prolific unskilled worker has, therefore, a greater purchasing power than a high civil servant. The civil service and professional classes wish to alter this, but the Histadrut are championing the cause of unskilled labour. For a while the ex-Russian politicians may preserve the equilibrium of this egalitarian State, but I am convinced that sooner or later it will upset.

(c) Religious

Orthodox and hyper-Orthodox traditions and taboos still flourish in various communities. (At the Kibbutz we visited, members are forbidden to shave with a razor, but depilatory cream is apparently sanctified by Scripture.) In the eyes of these religious reactionaries, Israel as a modern secular State is deprived of its *raison d'être*; still the tide of the times runs against them, and the State is losing its religious fervour.

(d) Cultural

Though the Jewish tradition is more than two thousand years old, there is as yet no Israeli tradition—no Israeli culture (in the widest sense), no Israeli style of architecture, no defined style of living. It is, in short, a "utility" and "austerity" civilisation which has still to strike roots. There is, therefore, no bond to hold the diverse elements together, except a racial myth and a hope which is partly fulfilled (with the creation of the State) and partly unfulfillable.

The primary cultural achievement is the adoption of the Hebrew language, of which all the citizens up to a few years ago had been blissfully ignorant. The secondary consequence, that all have had to change their names and assume a Hebrew instead of a Gentile name, causes confusion and I suspect a certain degree of imitation. Some few high-ranking civil servants have been excused, and towards them I detected some ill-concealed jealousy from those who for culture's sake had abandoned their surname.

The appeal of the Kibbutz as a mould of an *élite* is still strong, but very limited, and the Kibbutzim are giving place to the Moshavim, colonies of small holdings which the older generation regard as a sad lapse from the ideal, but the only form of settlement to which the new generation of immigrants can be fitted. The heroic age is already past, and there is no clear pattern for the future.

(e) Political

My stay in Israel coincided with ineffective attempts by the moderates to form a Government without enlisting extremist support.

Proportional representation is bitterly regretted by moderate Mapai, who realise that under our political system they would have returned to power with a sweeping majority. The extremist and splinter parties are well aware of this fact and are determined to oppose Messrs. Ben Gurion's and Sharett's efforts towards electoral reform. So long as Israel is under proportional representation, the extremist parties will increase in strength, since Israel's isolation will weaken the moderate vote and add to their support.

I was told that Ben Gurion was failing in health. He either would not or could not see me. Sharett saw me twice, each time for over an hour and, although clearly under

considerable strain, his argumentative powers did not lack vigour.

5. My conclusions are:—

(i) Israel is condemned to long years of isolation. Her obvious function should be to serve as the commercial and manufacturing centre of the Middle East. As these markets are denied her, she must develop and strengthen, with far greater difficulty, her economic ties with the West. The longer this phase continues, the harder it will be to integrate her economy and culture with her neighbours.

(ii) There is no doubt of the economic and psychological strain of Israel's conflict with the Arab world; her need for peace is very real. But the advent of peace and the relaxation of external tensions would threaten to deprive the young State of much of its crusading spirit and would bring into the open internal tensions which the present emergency tends to keep under control.

(iii) Those Israelis who have escaped from the horror of the Pogrom and concentration camps have carried to Israel some of the background that created those savageries. Israel is a military State. It is the Army that at present safeguards her survival and determines her future. Her

commanders are confident of Israel's military supremacy. Her politicians never cease from explaining their forbearance and how they have only acted in retaliation. The discovery of oil near the Gaza strip, the purchase of Soviet arms, or the blockade of Eilat could each or all of them stimulate this tense military State into a war which might well prove to be the solvent of their political and economic difficulties.

(iv) I came away feeling that Israel will not survive for long in her present condition. She faces a triple dilemma:—

- (a) If she makes terms with her Arab neighbours, she will be submerged in an Arab Levant;
- (b) If she goes to war, early victories will not end her isolation, and a protracted struggle will drain the last dregs of her economy;
- (c) If she avoids both these extremes, slowly but surely she will lose her *raison d'être* and, without Western help and alliances, she will pine away.

R. H. TURTON.

Foreign Office, S.W.1,
October 11, 1955.

VR 1015/49

No. 12

FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL

Mr. Nicholls to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 9)

(No. 142. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, November 7, 1955.

I have the honour to report that on the 3rd of November the Five-Party Coalition Government formed by Mr. David Ben-Gurion received a vote of confidence from the Knesset. Mr. Ben-Gurion's Government consists of his own party Mapai, the neutralist and extreme Left-wing parties Le'Achdut Ha'Avoda, and Mapam respectively, the liberal Progressive Party and the orthodox religious party Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi. The Cabinet includes sixteen Ministers, one of whom is without portfolio; nine of the Ministers are drawn from Mapai, one from the Progressive Party and two from each of the remaining parties. The composition of the Cabinet was given in my telegram No. 415 of the 2nd of November.

2. The vote of confidence in the new Government (75 votes to 32, with 3 abstentions) came at the end of a two-day debate during which the Opposition was provided by Herut, the General Zionists, the Communists and Agudat Israel. These parties voted against the motion, while Poslei Agudat Israel abstained from voting.

3. I have already reported in my telegram No. 422 of the 3rd of November the essence of Mr. Ben-Gurion's opening remarks on relations with the Arab States. Mr. Ben-Gurion referred also to the restrictions imposed by the Egyptian Government on passage through the Suez Canal and to the new regulations on shipping in the Gulf of Akaba. He declared that this unilateral warfare must cease, for it could not remain unilateral indefinitely. He nevertheless stressed that Israel could not achieve security by a military victory, however complete, since "Israel did not wish, was not permitted, and could not," destroy tens of millions of Arabs in the Middle East. Any war that did break out would therefore be purely defensive in character. Turning to the question of arms supplies, the Prime Minister strongly condemned the agreement reached between Egypt and the Soviet bloc. He stated that it must be obvious to

the Czechoslovak Government that the arms being supplied to Egypt were intended for the sole purpose of destroying Israel. Mr. Ben-Gurion nevertheless tempered his criticism of the Czech Government by recognising that the decision to send arms was not a Czechoslovak initiative but one prompted and inspired by the Soviet Union in clear contradiction to the proclamation of peace issued by the Soviet Government.

4. This is not the first time that Mr. Ben-Gurion has publicly expressed his willingness to discuss Israel-Arab differences directly with Arab leaders (see for example my Chancery's letter 1038/40/55 of October 3 to Levant Department) and there are many who, observing that his offers are usually made at times of tension, tend to dismiss them as mere propaganda moves. His latest offer certainly seems open to the interpretation that it was designed to impress upon world opinion the virtuous intentions and eminent reasonableness of a new Government; for he cannot have believed that his offer would be accepted at the present juncture in view of the tension in the El Auja demilitarised zone, and ought to have realised (even if he did not) that the attack launched on the Egyptians the same night would make it impossible for any Arab leader to believe in his sincerity. Nevertheless I think that it would be wrong to dismiss his offer as a meaningless gesture. He knows that Arab-Israel difficulties cannot be resolved by war, and I believe that his aim is to keep the necessity of a negotiated peace alive in the minds of Israelis without impairing in the meantime their readiness to meet force with force and to fight against odds if required.

5. With the exception of a passing reference to the electoral system and the need to open up and settle the more remote and less secure areas within the State, Mr. Ben-Gurion devoted his remarks almost exclusively to foreign affairs and defence. The trend of the ensuing debate followed the same pattern. Mr. Ben-Gurion's coalition partners were content in the main to echo his views. A spokesman of Mapam, however, touched on what promises to be one of the weakest features

in the coalition during his explanation of the reasons which induced his party to join the Government. Mapam, he stated, had entered the coalition on the understanding that a change in the direction of neutrality was needed in Israel's foreign policy. Mapam would remain within the Government as long as it was able to press its views without offending the principle of collective responsibility. The party paper, *Al Hamishmar*, on the same day carried a leading article affirming that Mapam intended to preserve its ideological and spiritual freedom and to fight within the Government for the adoption of what it termed a "correct foreign policy." These declarations of the position of Mapam in the coalition would explain why the outline of Government policy accepted by all the coalition parties (an unofficial English translation of which is enclosed⁽¹⁾) makes no reference to the proposed security guarantee or treaty with the West, specifically the United States, which has been a primary object of Government policy in recent months.

6. The Opposition parties contributed little to the debate. Both the General Zionists and Herut attacked an alleged "Eastern" (i.e., pro-Soviet) orientation of the new Government, the latter making particular play of the need in the present circumstances for a national Government embracing all parties with the exception of the Communists. The Communists for their part criticised Mapam and Le'Achdut Ha'Avoda for entering the Government without securing any guarantee that Mapai would abandon its efforts to conclude a military alliance with the United States.

7. In his summing up at the end of the debate, Mr. Ben-Gurion again laid principal emphasis on the problem of security which had been brought into still greater prominence by the action of the Israel army in the El Auja demilitarised zone during the night of the 2nd-3rd of November. He repeated that Israel would do everything to keep the peace. She would not, however, tolerate the invasion of her territory and, if such a thing should happen again, the Government would once more react with force.

8. At first sight the prospects for the new Government do not appear very promising. Behind the laboriously constructed façade

of coalition harmony there are already a number of pressures, any of which could precipitate a Government crisis. The religious party Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi, for example, agreed to join the coalition only on the day preceding the presentation of the new Government to the Knesset, and then only after the personal intervention of the President. The party has announced that it has received satisfaction from the Prime Minister over its immediate demands which concern religious education. There is little doubt, however, that once in the Government it will press for still further concessions to the orthodox religious views. Mapam, as I have explained above, is committed to keeping a watchful eye on the alleged Western sympathies of Mapai. Mapai, for its part, is said to be dissatisfied that Le'Achdut Ha'Avoda has nominated as one of its Ministers a relatively junior member of the party, Mr. Moshe Carmel, who is not even a member of the Knesset. The remaining party, the Progressives, were known to have grave misgivings from the outset about joining so pronounced a Labour Government. If they are unable to restrain the natural Socialist tendencies of their coalition partners, more especially in economic affairs, their continued participation in the Government must always be in doubt.

9. A further element of uncertainty is the health of Mr. Ben-Gurion. Should he become further incapacitated and be compelled to pass the reins of government to Mr. Sharett, it is doubtful whether Mapam would long be able to continue its participation in the coalition under a Prime Minister who has so resolutely worked for firm and binding agreements between Israel and the West.

10. These somewhat gloomy prognostications do not, however, imply that the days of the new Government are already numbered. The feeling of crisis and emergency with which almost everyone in Israel is imbued at present is in itself sufficient to hold the coalition together for some time. No party in the present circumstances would willingly risk bringing down the coalition at a time when strong and determined government is so clearly required. Furthermore, Mr. Ben-Gurion would probably go a fair way to ensure that the coalition that he has so laboriously

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

constructed is retained intact. Yet even if for some reason one of the coalition parties withdrew, the last minute inclusion of Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi has ensured that the Government would still command a small but adequate majority in the Knesset. There is thus no reason why the new Government should not enjoy reasonable security of tenure, at least until the present tensions subside sufficiently to permit the coalition parties to enjoy the

luxury of airing their decided differences on social, economic and foreign policy.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch, without enclosure, to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman, Beirut, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus and to the Political Representative with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

VR 1076/468

No. 13

REACTIONS IN ISRAEL TO SIR ANTHONY EDEN'S SPEECH AT THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET ON NOVEMBER 9, 1955

Mr. Nicholls to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 30)

(No. 150. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tel Aviv,
November 28, 1955.*

In my recent telegrams I have reported on the day-to-day developments arising from the Prime Minister's offer of mediation in the Arab-Israel dispute. It may be useful if I now submit a more connected account of the sequence of events and of official and Press reactions to Sir Anthony Eden's statement of the 9th of November.

2. On the 10th of November the Press published only the briefest account of the speech and there was no editorial comment. In giving the full text to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I asked particularly that their spokesman should be instructed to refrain from comment until I had had an opportunity to expound the Prime Minister's thought to the Israel Government. This, in the absence of Mr. Ben-Gurion at Sde-Boker and of Mr. Sharett in the United States (where he was taking part in a bond-selling campaign) I had arranged to do on the following day through Dr. Eytan, the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry readily acceded to my request and the spokesman refused all requests for comments and guidance from the Press. The Ministry had, however, not reckoned with Mr. Sharett who, immediately after his arrival in New York, delivered himself of a forthright condemnation of the Prime Minister's proposals. He deplored the suggestion that a compromise should be sought between the Israel and Arab positions on the ground that it would merely excite the appetites of Arab leaders. He claimed that Israel was under no legal, moral or political compulsion to concede any territory and that the Prime Minister's statement was neither constructive nor helpful to the cause of peace. He nevertheless welcomed, somewhat grudgingly, the Prime Minister's offer of assistance in achieving a settlement of the Arab-Israel problem, but in view of the allegedly preconceived attitude of the United Kingdom on the crucial problem of territorial claims he questioned Her Majesty's Government's suitability as a "disinterested mediator." In the absence of any guidance from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Press took their cue from Mr. Sharett and, as I reported in my telegram No. 460 of the 11th of November, the first reactions were accordingly unenthusiastic.

3. When I called on Dr. Eytan on the 11th of November to carry out the instructions in your telegram No. 771 of the 9th of November, I found him disposed to treat the Prime Minister's statement with due seriousness and to seek elucidations rather than pretexts for indignation of the kind expressed by Mr. Sharett. But he stressed the great anxiety that had been caused in Israel by the emphasis placed by Sir Anthony Eden on territorial concessions—an emphasis which was not present in Mr. Dulles' statement of the 26th of August. As reported in my telegram No. 459 of the 11th of November, I sought to explain to Dr. Eytan that to achieve any settlement there would have to be negotiations and that negotiations could not be started unless both Israel and the Arab States modified their present rigid attitudes on the question of frontiers. In reply to a question, I informed Dr. Eytan that there were indications that some Arab leaders were now seriously prepared to contemplate the idea of a settlement. Finally, I appealed for helpful and constructive guidance to the Press.

4. My appeal was unfortunately disregarded, for comment during the days immediately following my talk with the Director-General became increasingly bitter and critical. When it became apparent that no supporting statement would be immediately forthcoming from the United States Government, the entire weight of condemnation fell upon Her Majesty's Government and, as reports came in of the relatively favourable reception of the speech in the Arab countries, Her Majesty's Government were accused of conducting a policy of appeasement at Israel's expense for their own selfish interests and in order to check Soviet

penetration into the Middle East. The word "Munich" appeared repeatedly in editorials and papers of every complexion looked forward to the sharp rejection of all concessions by Mr. Ben-Gurion in a policy statement to the Knesset.

5. In this hostile and unfriendly atmosphere I called on the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, at her request, on the 16th of November. As I reported in my telegram No. 473 of the following day, Mrs. Myerson explained that she wished to inform me of the attitude of the Israel Government towards Sir Anthony Eden's speech before Mr. Ben-Gurion's statement in the Knesset which was scheduled for the same evening. The Israel Government feared that the mere mention of a compromise would encourage the Arab States in their intransigence and that the prospects of a settlement would thereby recede. Israel was prepared to meet the Arab States for peace negotiations at any time, so long as no prior conditions were laid down. But she would not in any circumstances cede territory, and no offer of mediation based on territorial concessions by Israel could possibly be considered.

6. I attempted to convince Mrs. Myerson that Israel could not afford to reject out-of-hand, and without even ascertaining the cost, what might well be the best chance of a settlement since negotiations with King Abdullah were cut short by his assassination. My efforts were, I fear, wasted; for Mr. Ben-Gurion's statement to the Knesset later in the evening (the full text⁽¹⁾ of which I enclose) was an outright rejection of any form of compromise and of British mediation. He rejected the idea of the "truncation of the territory of Israel" and declared that it was the considered and determined policy of the Israel Government not to permit anyone "to rob us of a single inch of our land." He repeated his offer to meet any Arab leaders to achieve a mutual settlement. I am told by journalists who were present that the statement, despite its emotional tone and highly-coloured wording, was delivered in a flat voice to an almost apathetic House.

7. As was to be expected, the Press next day fully endorsed Mr. Ben-Gurion's remarks which, I have no doubt, enjoyed the firm backing of the great majority of the population. Certainly in unofficial conversations with Israelis, which have happily been free of the rancour expressed in the Press, I have found nothing but support for Mr. Ben-Gurion's views. Nevertheless, had public attention at this stage been distracted from this issue, the hostile atmosphere, which at times reached a near-hysterical level, would, I believe, have been dissipated. Unfortunately, the flames were fed by further pronouncements by Mr. Ben-Gurion—notably in an interview on November 20 with the local correspondent of the *London Observer*. He alleged that the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union were pursuing like policies in the Middle East, both of which might lead to the destruction of Israel. He was also sharply critical of what he described as the "Arab-British" proposal to revert to the 1947 United Nations Resolution on the partition of Palestine. In one breath, therefore, Mr. Ben-Gurion associated Her Majesty's Government with both of Israel's main antagonists and gave a new fillip to the flow of hostile editorial comment. Much tendentious play was also made with Sir Anthony Eden's reply to a supplementary question in the House of Commons on the 22nd of November when he stated that there was nothing about a balance [of arms] in the Tripartite Declaration of 1950. Taken out of its context, this statement was cited as another instance of Her Majesty's Government's hostile attitude towards Israel and signalled as a further retreat from the Tripartite Declaration, which had virtually been rendered invalid by the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to provide Israel with arms to balance the supply of Czech arms to Egypt.

8. Simultaneously with the campaign to impugn British motives and distort British policy, the Press has been desperately seeking to satisfy itself and its readers that the United States Government does not support the plan for a compromise settlement—at least so far as Israel's boundaries are concerned—and is likely to meet a substantial part of Israel's request for arms. So long as the facts do not belie these comforting beliefs, Her Majesty's Government are likely to remain the villain of the piece. Mr. Dulles' frank discussion with Mr. Sharett in Washington will, however, have helped to remove the illusion, in official circles at least, that there are differences between Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government on the steps that must be taken to achieve a settlement, and I think

(¹) Not printed.

that, perhaps as a result, the anti-British attitude of the Press has been somewhat modified in the last few days. It may be, therefore, that the emotions aroused by Sir Anthony Eden's statement are now almost spent and that, in a less highly-charged atmosphere, it may shortly be possible to move towards a more realistic study of the elements of a settlement to which the majority of Israelis aspire.

I am sending copies of this despatch (without enclosure) to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Amman, Cairo, Bagdad, Beirut, Jedda, to the Political Office, Middle East Forces, and to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

VR 1114/6

No. 14

REVIEW OF ISRAEL'S ECONOMY

Mr. Nicholls to Mr. Macmillan. (Received December 7)(No. 155. Confidential)
Sir,Tel Aviv,
December 5, 1955.

In my despatch No. 151 E. of the 28th of November, I had the honour to report the tabling of a supplementary budget for £1.113 million, and I expressed the view that this should be regarded as a symptom of a general deterioration in Israel's economic situation.

2. The Israeli economy is, I imagine, *sui generis*. The words in which it is customary to describe economic crises have little relevance here, for the conditions to which they apply are, so to say, chronic. In a very small and inconveniently shaped country, populated in part by Jews of European origin, with more or less European standards, and in part by North African and Asian immigrants accustomed in the main to abject poverty, an attempt is being made to build a homogeneous modern welfare State based on the expansion of agriculture and the creation of a small but technically advanced industrial machine. The material basis for this ambitious programme is almost entirely lacking. Virtually no indigenous raw materials are available for industry, and agriculture, except in the fertile coastal plain, has to contend with an exacting climate, insufficient rainfall and the effects of centuries of neglect and erosion. Superimposed upon these material obstacles to prosperity are all the stresses and strains which flow from Arab hostility; unproductive expenditure on armaments, the maintenance of too many men under arms, the Arab blockade and boycott and the substitution of strategic for economic criteria in the colonisation of the frontier areas.

3. Despite these difficulties, astonishing progress has been made; in the seven years since the establishment of the State, the population has risen from 785,000 to about 1,800,000 yet the general standard of living has risen year by year and a high proportion of the national income has been devoted to long-term development works. It is only when one examines the means by which this progress has been achieved that its fundamentally precarious nature is revealed. Exports are insufficient to pay for the raw materials and consumption goods required to maintain the expanding population, to say nothing of the capital goods and other materials required for the development programme. The gap has been made good by financial help from abroad, mainly (though to a decreasing extent) from the United States Government, but also from the sale of bonds, from the contribution of American and British Jewry and from German reparations. Over the years these sources have probably provided between three-quarters and four-fifths of Israel's total requirements from abroad, and even to-day exports from her developing production cover only 30 per cent. of her imports. All these external sources of revenue show a declining tendency, and the German Reparations Programme should be completed in about six years' time. Israel's basic economic problem may thus be seen as a race against time; she must carry through her development programme not only on a sufficient scale, but fast enough to ensure that the resultant increase in productive capacity and exports will always keep up with, and if possible outrun, the inevitable decline in outside assistance.

4. In this race Israel has, at any rate until recently, more or less held her own. In the last few months, however, unmistakable warning signals have been visible. The principal symptom of this malaise has been a rise of 17 per cent. between February and July in the volume of credit and the amount of money in circulation, accompanied by stagnation in exports. This is bad in itself, but a factor which makes the inflationary and balance of payments problem particularly intractable for the Government is that although prices have since 1953 only risen moderately and are automatically followed upward by cost-of-living allowances, there is a nation-wide desire for an increased basic wage—most keenly felt perhaps among the underprivileged professional classes (my despatch No. 113 of the 29th of August) but steadily becoming stronger and more vocal among wage-earners.

SECRET

5. The inflationary situation is not surprising in a country which is trying simultaneously to modernise the equipment of an army which is exceptionally large in proportion to its population, to absorb new immigration at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum of the population, to raise the standard of living of those already here, to provide social services on a West European scale, and to carry out a relatively vast programme of agricultural and industrial investment. Nevertheless up to the end of 1954 the situation seemed to be more or less under control. Great advances had been made in production which had markedly raised the standard of living and had gone a little way towards closing the trade gap. During 1954 industrial production increased by 31 per cent., the public began to be able to buy a normal range of food, clothing and consumer goods and the ratio of exports to imports went up from 21 per cent. to 30 per cent.

6. In 1955 the primary factor which appears to have been upsetting the economy, even before the Czech-Egyptian arms deal was concluded, has been over-spending by the Government. A recent report by the Governor of the Bank of Israel says that out of the total increase of £1.60 million in the volume of credit and money (the 17 per cent. rise referred to in paragraph 4 above), a budget deficit in the first six months of the year has been responsible for £1.24 million, other Government action for a further £1.10 million, the public for £1.18 million and reparations payments for £1.8 million. The combined effect of rising costs of production, increased allowances to offset rising prices and the expansion of means of payment has been the absorption within the country of virtually the whole of the increase in industrial and agricultural production. Few of Israel's exports are really competitive in world markets, and there is small hope of making them so unless the present inflationary pressures can be contained. Indeed, business men say that an actual reduction of wages is required to get exports on the upgrade. But, in face of the universal demand for an increased basic wage (plus increased cost-of-living allowances), the most that the Government can hope to do is to freeze the present wage scales. Even this will not be easy, given the composition of the present coalition Government; for both Mapam and Ahdut Ha'avoda have been championing a general wage increase and will not readily abandon such a popular line unless they can at least persuade their coalition partners to limit profits or to make income tax more steeply progressive or in some other way to soak the rich. Failing some such step (which might drive the Progressives into opposition) it is not excluded that Mapam at least might leave the coalition. For the time being, however, the Minister of Finance (Mapai) has probably managed to spike the guns of the champions of wage increases by declaring that "a general increase in the basic wage is the biggest gift that we can to-day give to Nasser." Nevertheless the chances of bringing inflation under control and of avoiding eventual devaluation are not good.

7. This then is the economic background against which the Government, the armed forces and the public will take up their attitudes to the threat from Egypt. If the outcome is war, the economic problem becomes, for the duration, a relatively minor consideration. If the outcome is a true peace, with prospects of a more than temporary lifting of the Arab blockade, I am sure that the Israelis will face the future with enough energy and confidence to give them a very fair chance of establishing themselves in the Middle East as a minor industrial and mercantile nation with a tolerable standard of living.

8. The crucial question is, however, not whether the outbreak of war or the attainment of peace would, temporarily or permanently, solve Israel's economic problems, but rather whether the existence of those problems in their present sub-acute form is likely to make Israel more or less uncompromising in her relations with the Arab States. On the face of it, economic weakness should incline her towards prudent and conciliatory courses, for the burden of armaments already bears heavily on the economy and Israel is in no condition to sustain an arms race of any kind—much less one in which the Egyptians obtain Communist arms at knock-down prices while Israel pays for Western arms at commercial rates. But this is an argument which cuts both ways; many Israelis doubt whether Israel could, even under favourable economic circumstances, maintain her position *vis-à-vis* the surrounding Arab States if something less than true peace were to prevail indefinitely, and some of them will regard current economic difficulties as an additional argument for provoking a war now, while the balance of strength is still in Israel's favour.

SECRET

9. The answer to this is of course that, economically as well as politically, a war—whether “preventive” or otherwise—would solve nothing and create more difficulties than it would remove; and I have no doubt that this is the view of Mapai’s economists as it is at the moment of their political strategists. But it is not inconceivable that, if there is some kind of partial *détente* in Arab-Israel relations, and if Israel has to resign herself to a further prolonged period of uneasy truce, her economic troubles will become worse; for without the threat of acute external danger there might simultaneously be a breakdown of labour discipline at home, and a further falling off of aid from abroad. In that event the position of Israel’s present leaders might well become almost impossible, and control might pass into other less responsible hands.

10. This, however, is mere speculation. What is, I think, certain, is that the present Government cannot afford to play down the present external threat until it has managed to check the threat of inflation. It is therefore contributing, consciously or unconsciously, to the creation of a tense and aggressive mood, which in itself makes incidents more likely and increases the difficulty of persuading either Government or public opinion to accept the wisdom of a compromise settlement with the Arabs. From this point of view it is much to be hoped that the Government will find the courage (and unity of purpose) to take the unpalatable measures required to set its economic house in order. Meanwhile the realisation that the country’s economy is still precarious and would be desperate but for foreign aid may have been salutary. It should, on balance, ensure that the Government will not lightly dismiss any proposals for a peace settlement, consistent with its hopes of economic development, that may be put forward with the unambiguous support of the United States. If the implicit threat of an interruption of foreign aid could be supplemented by hopes of increased assistance in the event of a conciliatory spirit being shown, the prospects would be even better.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty’s Ambassadors at Washington and Cairo and to the Political Officer with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

PETER WESTLAKE

(For the Ambassador).

VR 1902/1

No. 15

ISRAEL: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Mr. Nicholls to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 7)

(No. 82. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, June 29, 1955.

In accordance with the instructions in your despatch No. 127 of the 14th of December, 1944, I have the honour to enclose my annual report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Israel.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

Enclosure

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Argentina

M. Enrique Juan Mendez Puig, Chargé d’Affaires, *a.i.* (March 1955).

The former Minister, Dr. Manguel, who left in February 1955 to take his seat in the Argentine Parliament, has not yet been replaced. His successor, who will be an Ambassador, is expected to be a prominent Argentine Zionist.

Belgium

M. Eugène J. S. du Bois, Minister (April 20, 1950).

*M. du Bois is a diplomat who has served in the Belgian Foreign Service since 1922. He came to Tel Aviv from Bucharest, having apparently been transferred prematurely because he has a Roumanian wife. (Written in 1953.) She has a good deal of charm, but is discontented and shows it; he is dull and conventional, but friendly. Like most of the Latin representatives here, he dislikes Israel, takes little interest in its problems, and sees as few Israelis as possible outside a small bridge-playing set. The du Bois have lived in hotels since their arrival and entertain rarely, though rather well.

Brazil

M. Nelson Tabajara de Oliveira, Minister (December 28, 1954).

M. Tabajara was born at Avaré in the State of São Paulo in 1904. He joined the Brazilian Foreign Service in 1931 and has since served in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Montevideo, Yokohama, Buenos Aires, Chicago and Bogotá. Before his appointment to Tel Aviv, he was in charge of the Consular Division of the Foreign Ministry.

This is M. Tabajara’s first post as Minister. He is friendly and sociable, but somewhat overshadowed by his wife. He speaks reasonable English; his wife, whom he met in Hong Kong, and who is of Portuguese origin, was educated at English schools and speaks English fluently. Both are keen bridge players and like to be seen at the right functions.

Bulgaria

M. Guéorgui Zenguilekov, Minister (August 16, 1954).

M. Zenguilekov is a young man, probably under 40. Heavily built and swarthy, his appearance is against him; but he improves on acquaintance.

Despite poor French and no English, he enjoys parties and can be quite good company. Formerly a trade union official, this is his first venture into diplomacy. His wife speaks only Bulgarian, but is learning Russian.

Burma

Mr. Khin Maung Gale, Chargé d’Affaires (May 16, 1955).

Formerly Chargé d’Affaires in Belgrade, where he opened the first Burmese Legation. Mr. Khin Maung Gale arrived here in May 1955, to perform the same rôle and to prepare the visit of his Prime Minister to Israel. Friendly and shrewd. His wife and children are still in Belgrade.

Chile

Dr. Samuel Avendano Sepulvedo, Minister (June 16, 1953).

In his late 50s, Dr. Sepulvedo comes from Valparaiso, where he was a leading physician and president of the Agrarian Labour Party. He has no previous diplomatic experience. Dr. Sepulvedo, who is also accredited as Ambassador to Turkey, is rarely seen in Israel and has not been here since my arrival. He leaves the legation in charge of M. Eduardo Cristi, an elderly and depressed Minister-Counsellor with a large family.

Czechoslovakia

M. Zdenek Jobanek, Chargé d’Affaires, *a.i.* (September 23, 1954).

Born in June 1922. M. Jobanek has not called on me, and makes no particular impression.

Denmark

M. Hugo Hergel, Minister (March 17, 1955).

M. Hergel is also Danish Minister to Greece and Turkey, and normally resides in Ankara. He is a career diplomat and has served as Minister in Bucharest and Moscow, where I knew him. His wife is English. Both speak fluent French, and M. Hergel’s English is almost perfect. A pleasant couple, whom we should be glad to see more often.

Dominican Republic

M. Telesforo Calderon, Minister (June 7, 1955).

M. Calderon is the first Dominican representative to be accredited to Israel. He is also Ambassador to Italy and will normally reside in Rome.

M. Calderon did not call on me during his brief visit to Israel.

Finland

M. Toivo I. Kala, Chargé d’Affaires, *a.i.* (January 23, 1953).

M. Kala has served principally in the Far East and Turkey. He is a friendly and sociable man and his wife, in her solid way, is also pleasant. Both speak excellent English.

France

M. Pierre Gilbert, Ambassador (March 4, 1953).

*M. Gilbert was born in Dunkirk in 1907 and before entering the French Foreign Service in 1932

as a specialist in Oriental languages, served in the French Navy. He spent most of the pre-war period in China. (Written in 1954.) He rejoined the French Navy soon after the outbreak of war but left it after the internment of the French fleet at Alexandria, when he joined the Royal Navy. He served with the French National Liberation Committee in Algiers and rejoined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1944.

*In 1947 he became French Minister at Bangkok and subsequently French Ambassador at Lima. He is a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and holds the Croix de Guerre and the Resistance Medal. As a result of a shooting accident he has only one lung, a handicap which in no way interferes with his activity in work and sport. (Written in 1954.)

M. Gilbert has been Doyen since my predecessor's departure. Cultivated and intelligent, he is friendly enough to meet, but generally somewhat unforthcoming; and he shows little disposition to co-operate even in matters closely concerning the other Tripartite representatives. He is popular with the Israelis, largely because he speaks excellent Hebrew. His wife, a Greek from Alexandria, attracts attention by her clothes but plays a negligible part in the social life of the Diplomatic Corps and makes no attempt to conceal her boredom.

Greece

M. A. Vlachos, Diplomatic Representative (March 14, 1955).

A career diplomat, who has served in Rome and the Foreign Ministry, Athens; he is an author of some distinction. M. Vlachos is a friendly and intelligent colleague. His charming wife is the sister of a Greek diplomat. Both speak fluent French and good English. It is our loss that they reside in Jerusalem, where, despite his anomalous position as the representative of a country which has not accorded *de jure* recognition to Israel, he is much liked and respected by Israeli officials.

Hungary

M. Kalman Joo, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (September 14, 1954).

M. Joo was born in Subotitz in 1915. He has not called on me, and I have difficulty in distinguishing him from his Czechoslovak and Roumanian colleagues.

Iceland

M. Helgi P. Briem, Minister (October 26, 1951). Resides in Stockholm, and has not been in Israel since my arrival.

Italy

Benedetto Capomazza, Marchese di Campolattaro, Minister (December 16, 1955).

M. Capomazza is in his early '50s and a Neapolitan. He claims to be a royalist and, in the Fascist era, served in the Foreign Press Office of the Ministry of Popular Culture. He has served in Washington and Madrid. He is dapper and amiable, and has considerable professional experience and all the social graces. He is married, but his (American) wife and child have not yet joined him in Israel and, if gossip is to be believed, are very unlikely to do so.

Japan

Mr. Shinichi Kamimura, Minister (February 3, 1955).

Mr. Kamimura is also Japanese Minister in Turkey and resides in Ankara. He is a career diplomat who served in London before the war and speaks excellent English.

Netherlands

M. Gideon W. Boissevain, Minister (May 4, 1953).

M. Boissevain was born in Montreal, where his father was an honorary Netherlands Consul. He has served in consular and diplomatic capacities in many countries, including the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, France, China, Chile, Peru and Greece, whence he came to Israel. Aged about 45, he has a pleasant and distinguished appearance, but his manners are not remarkable. His wife was born in Austria of a Russian emigré family; she is young and lively, and a trifle irresponsible. Both speak English and French.

M. Boissevain remains the only Western Diplomatic Representative, apart from the Greek, established in Jerusalem.

Norway

M. Ernst Hougen, Minister (October 23, 1953).

Resides at Athens. Previously acted as Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires in Israel, but has not been here since my arrival.

Poland

M. Zygrvd Wolniak, Minister (December 21, 1954).

Born in February 1922 at Graszyn. He has served in Ottawa and has also visited Brazil and the Argentine as a diplomatic courier. M. Wolniak is the first Polish Minister to Israel. He formerly held the post of Consul-General in Tel Aviv.

M. Wolniak and his wife are a good deal gayer and more agreeable than the rest of their Iron Curtain colleagues in Israel. M. Wolniak professes to be a Roman Catholic. He is regarded by the Israeli authorities as anti-semitic.

M. Wolniak left Israel in April 1955 for Cambodia, to serve as Polish representative on the International Armistice Supervisory Commission. He has said that he will be returning to Israel.

Roumania

M. Ioan Pricop, Chargé d'Affaires (January 10, 1954).

M. Pricop is a young man of about 35, and of saturnine appearance. He has not called on me.

Soviet Union

M. A. N. Abramov, Ambassador (August 10, 1954).

*Early in 1945, M. Abramov was head of the Fourth European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he signed the Soviet-Polish trade and frontier treaties. From September 1945 to April 1946 he served as head of the Fifth European Department which deals with Finland and the Scandinavian countries, and a few months later was appointed Soviet Minister to Finland, where he remained until early 1948. In 1949 he was appointed as Ambassador to Sweden, but was prevented from taking up his post on account of illness. (Written in 1954.)

No doubt under instructions, M. Abramov is friendly and cordial in his dealings both with other diplomatic missions and with the Israelis. I judge that his instructions accord well with his own temperament, which is expansive and genial. He travels widely and is, I imagine, active in promoting Communist interests; but he conducts himself with considerable discretion and is generally well liked. He knows little or no English, but is learning French. His wife, whose English is excellent, is easy-mannered and agreeable to meet and is widely said to be the brains of the family.

M. Abramov, who was appointed Minister to Israel in the autumn of 1953, returned as Ambassador in 1954 when the Israeli and Soviet Missions in Moscow and Tel Aviv respectively were

raised to the status of Embassies on the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Sweden

M. Jens Malling, Chargé d'Affaires (July 6, 1953).

*M. Mallin was born in 1909 and joined the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1938. He subsequently served in Rome, Chicago, Washington and New York, was appointed Swedish Vice-Consul at Hamburg in November 1945 and First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.*, in Vienna in September 1946. He returned to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1948. (Written in 1954.)

In 1955 he left Israel to join the Korean Armistice Commission, but stated that he expected to return within six months.

M. Malling is agreeable to meet and very well-disposed but a trifle affected. He is said to be dominated by his mother, who normally lives with him, and his staff find him moody and difficult.

Switzerland

M. Fritz Hegg, Minister (April 22, 1954).

M. Hegg, who is in his early '50s, was formerly in charge of the Administrative Division of the Political Department in Switzerland and apparently incurred the odium of his colleagues for the heavy-handed way in which he carried through a reorganisation scheme. Somewhat stiff and formal in his manner, I have nevertheless found him a pleasant and friendly colleague. His wife is also agreeable. Both speak good English.

Turkey

Mr. Sefkati Istinyeli, Minister (December 22, 1952).

Mr. Istinyeli was born in Constantinople in 1897, the grandson of a former Vizier, and was educated at Constantinople and at Paris. He is a career diplomat with considerable experience, and was Minister in Bucharest and Sofia before coming to Tel Aviv. He is a bachelor and keen bridge player and a notorious gossip. Much given to whispered

confidences in elaborate French, he is usually well-informed and I have always found him friendly and co-operative.

He speaks no English.

United States

Mr. Edward B. Lawson, Ambassador (November 11, 1954).

Mr. Lawson was born in Newport, Tennessee, in 1894 and educated at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He arrived in Israel two days after me, having previously served as United States Minister to Iceland. His earlier appointments, mainly on the economic and commercial side, were in Johannesburg, London, Prague, Managua and Ankara.

Though considerably handicapped by deafness, he combines a good deal of shrewdness with commonsense. I have found him a most helpful and co-operative colleague. He travels assiduously and reads innumerable speeches prepared for him by his Information Officer.

Mr. Lawson is accompanied by his wife, who is an amiable and friendly body but precluded by what is kindly, and in part truthfully, described as an incurable circulatory defect from playing any part in the activities of her husband's Mission.

Uruguay

No successor has been appointed for M. Arizti, who left Israel in 1954 for Athens where he is now Minister.

Yugoslavia

M. Jovan Vukmanovic, Minister (May 25, 1954).

M. Vukmanovic, whose previous appointment was Consul-General in Marseilles, was formerly a teacher of classical Greek, which he studied at the University of Athens. He is an agreeable and friendly man, in his late '40s, and speaks good French and some English. His wife, who speaks French, is also pleasant.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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No. 16

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ISRAEL

Mr. Nicholls to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 30)

(No. 149. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, November 28, 1955.

I have the honour to submit a report on the leading personalities in Israel for the year 1955-56. The submission of this report has been delayed pending the formation of a new coalition Government following the general election held in July.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

Enclosure

Glossary

AGUDAT ISRAEL.—World organisation of strictly orthodox Jews; founded in 1912; opposed Zionism for many years as running contrary to Jewish Messianic beliefs; since the establishment of the State it has co-operated with the Jewish Agency and the Government.

GENERAL ZIONIST PARTY.—Conservative middle class party in Israel, protagonists of private enterprise.

HAGANAH.—Haganah was the underground Jewish armed defence force controlled by the Jewish Agency during the Mandate. Became the regular army of Israel on the establishment of the State.

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI.—Histadrut Wholesale Co-operative Society.

HAMIZRAHI.—Orthodox Religious and Zionist Party, affiliated in the Knesset to Hapoel Hamizrahi. Less extreme in its religious views than Agudat Israel.

HAPOEL HAMIZRAHI.—Labour Party and Trade Union. United, in the Knesset, with Hamizrahi. Except on religious issues its views do not diverge substantially from Mapai.

HASHOMER HATZAIR.—Extreme Left Socialist Zionist youth movement and political party. (See Mapai.)

HISTADRUT.—The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel.

HERUT.—Extreme Nationalist political party in Israel. (See I.Z.L.)

HEVER HAKVUTZOT (The Association of Kvutzot).—Hever Hakvutzot is an organisation of pro-Mapai collective settlements in the country.

IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI.—Underground terrorist group founded in 1937 to fight the Mandatory régime. (Dissolved since the creation of the State and formed into a new party—Herut.)

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JEWISH AGENCY.—Central Jewish body combining all Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike. Founded in 1929 and now concerned with education and Zionist activities abroad and with the absorption of immigrants into Israel.

KIBBUTZ.—(plural, Kibbutzim: resident of, Kibbutznik). A collective agricultural settlement.

KIBBUTZ ARTZI (Country-wide Kibbutz).—Kibbutz Artzi is the organisation of kibbutzim belonging to the Hashomer Hatzair movement.

KNESSET.—Assembly—the Israel Parliament, which has only one Chamber. (M.K.=Member of the Knesset.)

LE'ACHDUT HA'AVODA (commonly abbreviated to ACHDUT AVODA).—An independent political party, established in 1954, whose members are drawn from two former factions of Mapam, namely Le'Achdut Avoda and Poalei Zion Smol.

MAPAI.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalei Eretz Israel," the Labour Party; Israel's largest political party. (Moderate Socialist.)

MAPAM.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalim Me-uhedet." United Workers' Party, or the Left-wing Socialist Labour Party (fellow-travellers). It now consists of a single faction, Hashomer Hatzair.

PALMACH.—The former crack striking force of the Haganah, formed of Mapam adherents.

POALEI ZION.—The Jewish Socialist Movement abroad, of Mapai complexion.

SOLEL BONEH.—Solal Boneh is the Histadrut's building-contracting institution, the largest in Israel.

VAAD LEUMI.—The General Council of the executive body of the elected Assembly which represented the Jewish communities in Palestine during the Mandate (now dissolved).

WORLD MACCABI UNION.—Union representing Maccabi Sports Clubs throughout the world. It organises the Maccabiah or International Jewish "Olympic" Games. "Maccabi" is Israel's oldest sports organisation.

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1. Agron, Gershon

Mayor of Jerusalem: Chairman of Board of Directors of the *Jerusalem Post*.

Born 1893 at Czernigov (Russia). Emigrated to the United States in 1916 and studied at Philadelphia University. Edited a Yiddish paper in 1917. Joined Jewish Legion in 1918 and on demobilisation settled in Palestine. In 1920-21 and 1924-27 head of the Zionist Organisation Press Bureau. In the interval he was editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York. Back in Palestine in 1924 he became correspondent for some English newspapers. In 1932 he founded *The Palestine Post* (now *Jerusalem Post*). He lost the financial control in 1948. In 1949 he became director of Israel Information Services, but resigned in February 1951, to return to the editorship of the *Jerusalem Post*. In 1951 his name was included in the list of Mapai candidates for the Knesset. In 1955 he headed the Mapai list in the Jerusalem municipal elections, and was subsequently elected Mayor.

Mr. Agron is Israel's leading English-language journalist, though of American rather than British outlook. He claims to be pro-British but is only really so on his own terms. In politics he tends towards the Left. Had diplomatic and political ambitions and is disappointed that they have not been realised, but has derived much satisfaction from his appointment to the Mayoralty of Jerusalem.

2. Almogi, Joseph

Mapai M.K.

Born in Poland in 1902. Has for some years been Secretary of the Local Labour Council, Haifa, and consistently acts more independently than the secretaries of other Local Labour Councils. He

is a tough and able trade union leader. He was the 84th (unsuccessful) candidate in the Mapai list in the Parliamentary Elections of January 1949, but secured election to the Third Knesset at the 36th place on the Mapai list in the elections of July 1955. He has since been re-elected as Secretary of the Haifa Labour Council, but it is uncertain whether he will feel able to continue in his present appointment in addition to his Knesset duties. There will be pressure in Haifa to keep him at the head of the Labour Council, but some Mapai leaders at the centre would perhaps like to reduce his grip on Haifa. He is an ambitious man, very friendly and, whilst he has ability, he relies at least as much on his forceful personality as on his brains.

3. Alon, Yigal

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in 1909 and a member of Kibbutz Ginosar (a Mapam settlement), Yigal Alon was the founder and first commander of the Palmach, the crack Israel striking force, largely composed of Mapam kibbutzniks, which distinguished itself in the Palestine War but was subsequently disbanded owing to its Left-wing ideals. Yigal Alon held the rank of Aloof (Brigadier) in the Palestine War and commanded the Israel forces in the Negev campaign, as a result of which the Egyptian Army was driven out of the Negev. He has claimed publicly that he could easily have occupied Gaza and Hebron in 1948, but was ordered not to do so by the Government. In 1949 he was retired from the army in the purge of Mapam commanders and he subsequently went to England to study and was very favourably impressed. He spent a long time in London studying economics and social questions. He is a leading member and Secretary-General of Le'Achdut Avoda, which broke away from Mapam in August 1954.

Mr. Alon is regarded by Israelis as a born leader of men and is looked on by young people as a national hero. He is clearly a powerful rising force in the Israel political scene.

4. Aranne, Zalman

Minister of Education and Culture.

Born at Yuzovka (Stalino) in South Russia in 1899. Attended the Agronomic Institute in Kharkov. Was a Zionist before the Russian Revolution and from 1920 was a member of the Central Committee of the underground Zionist Socialist Party. Came to Palestine in 1926. First a labourer, he later made a career in the secretariat of Jewish labour organisations, finally becoming a secretary of the Workers' Council of Tel Aviv. He was a delegate to the World Zionist Congresses of 1933 and 1935 and is a member of the Zionist Organisation's Action Committee.

In 1935-36 Mr. Aranne was in London studying trade union questions on behalf of the Histadrut. In the latter he has held the posts of Treasurer, Head of the Publicity Department and Director of the Workers' Training College. Originally associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda (Union of Labour) movement, Mr. Aranne followed it when in 1927-30 it amalgamated with other groups to form the Mapai Party, but he remained faithful to Mapai when the Left-wing of the movement again broke away in 1944. In 1948 he became Mapai's first Secretary-General and a M.K. in 1949. In the Knesset he became chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, a position he held until February 1951, when he resigned to organise Mapai's election campaign. After the elections he resigned his post of Secretary-General of Mapai. Shortly after entering Mr. Sharett's Cabinet in 1954 he was nominated Minister responsible for information matters. In

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the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion after the 1955 elections, he was appointed Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr. Aranne, who is a forceful speaker, has played a prominent and constructive part in Knesset debates. In 1950 he was one of Israel's delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is also one of his party's leading political tacticians.

5. Argov, Meier

Mapai M.K. Born in the Ukraine in 1905. Came to Palestine 1925. Active in the Histadrut's trade union department, he became a member of the Histadrut executive, chairman of the Tel-Aviv labour exchange and chairman of the Union of Israel Labour Exchanges. In the Second World War he served with the Jewish Brigade. He sat as a representative of the Va'ad Leumi Executive on the Emergency Committee of 1947-48. Member of the Provisional Council of State in 1948, elected M.K. in 1949. He was also a member of the Zionist General Council. In February 1951 he succeeded Aranne (q.v.) as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. From November 1951 until the spring of 1954 he was Secretary-General of Mapai. He asked to be relieved of this post on grounds of ill-health.

He remains Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Third Knesset to which he was re-elected in 1955.

6. Avidar, Aloof (Brigadier) Josef

Ambassador to Soviet Union.

Born in Russia in 1906. Took part in the organisation of Haganah and served with Wingate's night squads from 1936-37, losing an arm in operations. He was a senior staff officer from 1948 onwards and has commanded the Northern and Central Areas. He led an army delegation to Yugoslavia in 1952. In 1953 he attended a course in the United Kingdom (Senior Officers' School), where he was reported on as "a widely read and trained professional soldier of considerable ability," although this is perhaps a rather flattering description by Western standards. On his return to Israel, he was appointed head of the General Staff. In 1954 he accepted, somewhat reluctantly, the post of Ambassador to Moscow.

7. Avner, Gershon

Diplomat.

Born in Berlin in 1919. Studied at Oxford and became president of the Union, subsequently serving in London with the Jewish Agency's Political Department. On coming to Israel he became head of the Western European Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In March 1952 he took part in the negotiations for reparations from Western Germany as political adviser to the Israel delegation. Subsequently he was appointed counsellor and chargé d'affaires in Hungary and Bulgaria and is now counsellor at the Israel Embassy in London.

Mr. Avner is highly intelligent and an agreeable personality. His wife is a naturalised British subject.

8. Avriel, Ehud

Mapai M.K.

Born in Vienna in 1918, Mr. Avriel came to Palestine just before the Second World War and joined a kibbutz. In 1943 he went to Istanbul on behalf of the Jewish Agency and took part in the rescue of Jews from Germany, co-operating also with Allied intelligence organisations. From 1945 to 1948

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he was in Czechoslovakia and in 1948 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In June 1950 he was transferred to Bucharest. He accompanied the Prime Minister on his private journey to Athens and London in December 1950, and in April 1951 was appointed Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office. In November 1951 he was appointed to supervise the administration of United States grant-in-aid funds. In June 1952 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance in succession to Horowitz (q.v.), continuing to be responsible for grant-in-aid matters. He resigned from this post in 1953 and retired to a Kibbutz settlement. In 1955 he was elected to the Knesset as a Mapai member. Agreeable and co-operative, Mr. Avriel had the reputation of being a competent official, but was not thought to be of the same calibre as Mr. Horowitz. He was, however, one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's chosen lieutenants. He was cited as an "American agent" in the Slansky-Clementis purge trial in Prague in 1952.

9. Ayalon, Aloof (Brigadier) Zvi

Commander, Central Military Command. Brigadier Ayalon came to Palestine from Russia in 1925 at the age of 15; he was one of the earliest members of the Haganah. He was a Senior Commander during the war against the Arabs, acted as Quartermaster-General in 1952 and 1953, and took up his present appointment early in 1954 after a three months' course at the Senior Officers' School at Devizes. He was there reported on as hard-working, shrewd and sound. He combines a likeable personality with the appearance of a bullet-headed Prussian.

10. Bader, Dr. Yochanan

Herut M.K. Born in 1901 at Cracow. Studied law at Cracow University and was a leader of the Revisionists in Galicia. Came to Palestine in 1943, worked as a journalist and economist and was also active in the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Associated with the Revisionist paper *Hamashkif* and became editor of *Herut* on joining that party in 1948. Elected M.K., 1949, and was chairman of the Herut-Revisionist World Executive, 1949-51. Re-elected 1951 and 1955. He is a member of the Herut Executive Committee. Dr. Bader is the leading Herut expert on economics. He is a poor speaker but a clear thinker who commands a more attentive hearing than most members of his party.

11. Barkatt, Reuven

Director of the Political Department of the Histadrut. Born in Russia in 1906. Educated at Strasbourg and the Sorbonne.

Mr. Barkatt is a leading member of the Histadrut Executive Bureau of nine, and is head of the International Department, the Arab Department and the Cultural Department of the Histadrut. He is also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai. He led the Histadrut delegation to the United Kingdom in 1950 and travels extensively to international Socialist conferences. He revisited England in 1952 and again as leader of the Israeli delegation to the Congress of the Socialist International in July 1955. He represents Mapai at the meetings of the Asian Socialist Congress and has visited Indonesia, India and Burma. He is now one of the three-man editorial board which controls the Asian Publishing House set up in Rangoon in 1955 following the decision taken by the Asian Socialist Conference at its Tokyo meeting in November 1954. One of his staff has undertaken the management of the enterprise at Rangoon for the first two years. Speaks

English, French, Hebrew, Russian and German. He is shy and reserved at first but talks interestingly when his reserve is broken down except that he is always devious and loves to talk in riddles. He has, however, a sense of humour, is friendly and is, in all, a strong personality.

12. Barth, Dr. Aharon

Banker. Born in 1890 in Berlin. Educated at Berlin and Heidelberg Universities and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. One of the leaders of the Mizrahi religious Zionist movement in Germany. Came to Palestine and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi), of which he is general manager. He is also on the board of the Foundation Fund and of the Hebrew University. During the World War he was chairman of the Executive Committee for the Enlistment and Relief Fund and for the National War Loan. In 1950 he was appointed chairman of a new State Corporation for the development of the Negev. He is a member of the Economic Advisory Council and was President of the Congress Court at the 23rd Zionist Congress in 1951. In November 1952 he was asked by the religious parties to stand for the Presidency but after thinking it over he declined.

Dr. Barth is strictly orthodox. He is a strong dignified man, and is prepared to be helpful.

13. Bartur, Moshe

Director of Economic Division of M.F.A. Born at Moseiska in 1919. Came to Palestine from Germany and until 1948 lived in a kibbutz, of which he is still a member. He has travelled extensively on economic delegations and in 1952 accompanied Mr. Horowitz to London. Since 1953 he has been responsible for the negotiation of trade agreements between Israel and various European countries. He is helpful and of sound judgment.

14. Bar-Yehuda, Israel

Minister of Interior. Born 1895 in Poland. Trained as engineer. Came to Palestine in 1926 and joined kibbutz Yagur, near Haifa. Was one of the founders of Achdut Avoda. He became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and was a delegate to Zionist congresses. Elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list in 1949, he became Mapai whip and soon made his mark as a parliamentarian. Re-elected in 1951 and 1955 and appointed a Deputy Speaker in the Third Knesset. Became Minister of the Interior in the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955. He is a member of the Zionist General Council.

As a member of Mapai, he opposed the extreme pro-Soviet policy of the Hashomer Hatzair majority and stressed at meetings of the Mapai Council, of which he was a member, the Soviet Union's opposition to Zionism and its refusal to allow Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel and has strongly opposed undue subservience to the Communist bloc. He is now one of the leaders of the Le'Achdut Avoda Party.

15. Barzilai, Israel

Mapai M.K. Born in Poland in 1913 and educated there, the son of a timber merchant. Joined Hashomer Hatzair and later studied at the Sorbonne. Settled in Palestine in 1934, joining a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz at Karkur, which subsequently merged with Kibbutz Negba. Was active in Hashomer Hatzair political work and in Histadrut activities and was a founder member of the Israel-Poland Friendship League. In April 1946, he visited Poland as an Israel unofficial representative and in August 1949, was appointed

Minister at Warsaw, the only member of Mapai to be given a diplomatic post abroad. His staff were also members of Mapai. He held this post until the end of 1950, when he returned to Kibbutz Negba. In April 1953 he was elected political secretary of Mapai in place of Rifkin (q.v.). He appears to be an Orthodox Mapai member who, while holding extreme Left views, is a convinced Zionist.

16. Becker, Aharon

Mapai M.K. and trade union official. Born in Poland in 1905. Came to Palestine in the twenties and has been for over twenty years a trade union official. He is now head of the trade union department of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Jewish Labour), a post which he has held since June 1949. A member of the Histadrut Executive. In 1950 he led a trade union delegation to Yugoslavia and from 1943-48 he was a director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi and head of its industrial department. In 1951 he visited the United Kingdom to study trade union and labour affairs and also to improve his English. He also visited the United States, France and Canada on trade union affairs. A trade union member of the Economic Advisory Council. In 1955 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list.

Mr. Becker is an influential trade union leader and a possible successor to Mr. Namir as Secretary-General of the Histadrut. He is friendly and well-disposed and a powerful opponent of Mapai. Though an able man, his health is not good, and like many Israel leaders, he consistently overworks.

17. Beigin, Menahem

Leader of Herut Party. Born 1913 at Brest-Litovsk. Studied law at Warsaw University. At an early age joined the Revisionist Youth Movement, Betar. Appointed head of Betar in Czechoslovakia in 1936 and was head of its Polish section in 1939. After Soviet occupation of East Poland he was arrested and sent to Siberian concentration camps. Released under the Stalin-Sikorsky agreement, he joined the Polish Army with which he came to Palestine in 1942. He later left it and joined the anti-British underground movement, becoming leader of the terrorist "National Military Organisation" (Irgun Zvai Leumi). He emerged in public after May 1948, when he announced the transformation of the Irgun into a political party, the "Freedom Movement" (Herut), under his leadership. In September 1948, he succeeded in incorporating the majority of the Revisionist Party into it. Elected M.K. 1949 and re-elected in 1951 and 1955. Re-elected chairman of the party in April 1954. Herut's gains in the elections of 1955 owed much to his skilful and unscrupulous demagoguery.

Mr. Beigin is a lean sinister-looking intellectual with vulture-like features and rimless glasses. His undoubted oratorical talent and keen intelligence are warped by bitter extremism. Hatred of the British is still one of his main preoccupations and he glories in his murderous past. His memoirs were published in 1951, and an English edition, "The Revolt," was put on sale in London.

18. Bejarano, Moshe

Industrialist. Born at Plovdiv, Bulgaria, in 1902. Educated in Switzerland and Italy. With his brothers he established a leading cigarette business in Bulgaria and on coming to Palestine he co-operated with them in the foundation of the "Assis" fruit-juice, citrus product and cigarette factory at Ramat Gan. From 1948-49 he was commercial counsellor to the Israel Legation

in Moscow. He frequently represents Israel at commercial conferences abroad. In 1954 he went on a Government-sponsored mission to India and the Far East, to explore possibilities of increasing Israel's exports.

Mr. Bejarano is a Sephardic Jew and he and his brothers talk Ladino among themselves. He, himself, is highly intelligent and sophisticated and speaks a number of languages. He and his wife are much seen socially in Tel Aviv. His brother, Shimon Bejarano, is a General Zionist Member of the Knesset.

19. Ben-Aharon, Yitzhak

Achdut Avoda M.K. Born in Bukovina in 1906. Studied economics and law in Berlin. Came to Palestine in 1928 and joined kibbutz Givat Haim. Was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and became a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Histadrut Council. During the Second World War he served in the British Army as a captain in the Royal Engineers; prisoner of war 1941-45. He became secretary-General of Mapai and was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Member of the Central Committee of Mapai until, in 1954, he left the party with other members of the Achdut Avoda faction, of which he has for some time been a leading member. Elected Achdut Avoda M.K. in 1955. He is well disposed and speaks good English, but in public advocates a "neutralist" foreign policy identified neither with Russia nor with the West. A serious and likeable personality.

20. Ben-Gurion, Amos

Deputy Inspector-General of Police (1950). Born in London in 1920, the son of David Ben-Gurion (q.v.). Educated at Herzlia Gymnasium, Tel Aviv, and the Kadoorie Agricultural School, Mount Tabor. Joined the British Army in 1940 and served with the Jewish Brigade in the Italian, Belgian and Dutch campaigns, being demobilised in 1946 with the rank of Major. Was Liaison Officer of Haganah with the British Army from 1947-48 and conducted the negotiations with the British authorities about the status of Jaffa in May 1948. During the Palestine War he commanded an infantry regiment and saw action near Tel Aviv and at Latrun. During the first cease-fire in June 1948 he acted as a liaison officer. Later in the year he joined the Israel Police Force, in which he has since served as Superintendent and later Deputy Inspector-General.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is a serious yet slothful individual, and lacks his father's physical drive and mental agility. He has an English Gentile wife, who comes from the Isle of Man.

21. Ben-Gurion, David

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. Born at Plonsk in Poland in 1886 of an orthodox Jewish family, he received a traditional religious education, which he managed to supplement. Early in life he became interested in the Jewish Socialist movement (Poale Zion). His activities as a revolutionary orator during the pogroms of 1905 led to his being blacklisted by the Russian Government, and in 1906 he emigrated to Palestine. He worked as an agricultural labourer at Petah Tikva and later at the wine cellars at Rishon-le-Zion. He continued his Socialist activity and persuaded the local Socialists to turn from Yiddish to Hebrew. In 1913 he spent a year studying law at Constantinople. In 1915 he was expelled from Palestine to Egypt, still being a Russian subject, and made his way to the United

States. Here he helped to prepare pioneer settlers for Palestine and American Jewish units for the British army. He became a private in the Royal Fusiliers and returned to Palestine with General Allenby's army.

After the war he took part in the formation of the Achdut Avoda (United Labour) Party (1919) and in the same year was elected to the Zionist Executive. He played a leading part in the creation of the Histadrut and remained its general secretary until 1933. In 1930, when Achdut Avoda and Hapoel Hatzair merged to form Mapai, he emerged as the unquestioned leader of the party. From then on he became an increasingly important figure in the Zionist movement. In 1935 he joined the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation and became chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem and the effective leader of Palestine Jewry. He was bitterly opposed to the White Paper of 1939, and events favoured his line rather than the restraint advocated by Dr. Weizmann, then the outstanding figure in the Zionist movement. The Second World War delayed the crisis. Mr. Ben-Gurion threw himself wholeheartedly into the war effort and the recruitment of Jews, though later his motives were probably more political than otherwise. In 1942, while Weizmann hesitated, he sponsored the Biltmore programme, which called for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and army and unrestricted immigration. In 1946 he was interned for eight months for connivance at terrorism. In 1947, after the United Nations partition resolution, he was elected chairman of the National Council and put in charge of security and defence. When the Mandate ended he was already the appointed leader of a shadow Government. He took over the Defence portfolio and his personal energy and initiative were an important factor in Israel's victory over the Arabs. The war was under his personal direction, and he emerged from it a national hero. After it he quickly and ruthlessly suppressed the private army of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and purged the army of Mapam leaders, destroying the separate identity of the Palmach and making the army his own loyal instrument.

In the 1949 elections Mapai emerged the strongest party and Ben-Gurion formed a coalition Government. He subsequently made periodical efforts to broaden his Government but without success. Disagreements with the religious parties became ever more acute and finally brought about the defeat of the Government in 1951. After the 1951 elections he formed a new coalition not very different from the old, in which he continued as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He spent May 1951 touring the United States, primarily to raise funds. In December 1952 he formed a new coalition Government with the General Zionists, again becoming Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

In December 1953 he announced his intention of resigning from the offices of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and withdrew, with his wife, to the remote and isolated settlement of Sde Boker, in the Negev, some 30 kilom. south of Beersheba. His professed motive for retiring from public life was to be relieved from the physical and mental strains imposed upon him as Prime Minister, in order to devote a period of time to thought and study, to write, and to rekindle the pioneering spirit in Israel. In 1955 he returned to the Government as Minister of Defence in succession to Mr. Lavon whose resignation, following differences of opinion with Mr. Sharett over defence policy, threatened to split Mapai. He led the party in the elections to the Third Knesset and after prolonged inter-party discussions succeeded in forming a coalition in November 1955.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is a man of great energy and self-confidence who does not easily brook opposition. He is brusque and impulsive and enjoys defying

conventions; emotional and with a streak of Messianic fervour; a forthright and determined leader with a direct and fundamentally honest approach. He is a voracious reader, with a predilection for Plato, and speaks several languages, including English. His wife, formerly a nurse, comes from New York.

22. Ben-Tov, Mordechai

Minister of Development.

Born in 1900 at Grodzisk near Warsaw. Attended the Politechnion and University of Warsaw and Law Classes, Jerusalem. Came to Palestine in 1920. A founder of the Hashomer Hatzair movement. Delegate to various Zionist congresses and member of the Zionist Executive (1935). Member of the Agricultural Committee (1938). Delegate to the Round Table Conference, London (1939). Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee (1942). Member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Labour and Reconstruction in the Provisional Government (1948). Was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Became, in 1951, chairman of the Knesset Economic Committee. In December 1952 he led the Israel delegation to the Vienna "peace conference." He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955 and became Minister of Development in the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November of that year.

Mr. Ben-Tov is essentially a man of Hashomer Hatzair. He is a member and resident of Mishmar Ha'emek, one of its leading communal settlements, where his wife runs the school, which has considerable local renown. For years he has been editor of *Al Hamishmar*, organ of the movement. He is a man of considerable erudition and speaks six languages including English, and has made a study of Arab-Jewish relations. Fellow journalists say that he will always be found on the side of the majority in Mapam, and indeed he appears now to be a time-server.

23. Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak, M.B.E.

President of Israel (1952).

Born 1884 at Poltava. Studied at Kiev University and was an active promoter of Socialist Zionism in Russia, Germany and Switzerland. Settled in Palestine in 1907. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14), was expelled from Palestine (1915), went to the United States, worked on preparing pioneers for Palestine, helped to recruit the Jewish Legion and served in it (1918-20). One of the founders of the Va'ad Leumi (General Council of the Jewish Community); from 1920 onwards member of its Præsidium and its president from 1931 to 1948. Twice appointed to the High Commissioner's Council, but resigned; in both cases on the immigration issue. In 1937 he represented the Jewish community in Palestine at the coronation of King George VI. Has been delegate at Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council. A founder of the Histadrut and of Mapai. Member of the Provisional Council of State (1948) and of the Knesset (1949). Re-elected 1951.

In November 1952 he was nominated by Mapai as their candidate for the Presidency and a month later he was elected to that office on the third ballot.

Mr. Ben-Zvi is a simple and modest man who is universally liked and respected, and he has shown dignity, moderation and sense in his new office, which is largely symbolic. He is quite unaffected, and lived for years in a small wooden hut in Jerusalem. Before being elected President he took little part in active politics, but was looked upon as the "grand old man" of Mapai. He is a leading orientalist and the author of several books and many articles, and an authority on the Samaritan community. One of his two sons was killed in the Palestine War.

24. Bernstein, Dr. Perets

General Zionist M.K.

Born in 1890 at Meiningen (Germany). Studied at Meiningen University and Eisenach. Was in business in Germany and Holland, 1907-35. On the Executive of the Zionist Organisation of Holland from 1924 and its president in 1930-34. Came to Palestine in 1936, and founded the General Zionist paper *Haboker*. In 1937 he entered the Executive of the General Zionist Party. President of the party since 1943; unanimously re-elected in November 1949. He entered the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency in 1946 and in 1947 became head of its trade and industry department. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Trade, Industry and Supply, with responsibility for war-time controls. Elected M.K., 1949, he declined to serve in the Government. Re-elected 1951. In November 1952, he was the General Zionist candidate for the presidency. A month later, when the General Zionists joined Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government, he became Minister of Trade and Industry. He held the same post in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January, 1954 but relinquished it in 1955 when the General Zionist Party withdrew from the coalition.

Dr. Bernstein is regarded with the respect due to a senior statesman. A rather massive person, he speaks quietly and without rhetorical effects, but his authority (particularly on economic questions) is considerable.

25. Biran, Dr. Avraham

Consul-General at Los Angeles.

Born in 1909 at Petach Tikvah. Educated at Reali Intermediary School, Haifa, and Teacher's Seminary, Jerusalem. Graduated at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore (M.A., Ph.D.).

From 1928 onwards worked as teacher in Haifa and Baltimore. Later held a fellowship at the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, specialising in archaeology. Has participated in archaeological expeditions in Palestine, Syria, Transjordan and Iraq. In 1937 he entered the Palestine Government service as Cadet District Officer, Nazareth, and served as District Officer in various towns in northern Palestine. In 1946 he became District Officer in Jerusalem and at the end of the Mandate he entered the service of Israel as assistant Military Governor of the City. When military government ceased he became District Commissioner (or "Government Representative") for Jerusalem. In 1955 he accepted the appointment of Consul-General at Los Angeles.

26. Burg, Dr. Shlomo Joseph

Minister of Posts.

Born in Germany in 1909 and educated at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig (Ph.D.). He also undertook Jewish religious studies in Berlin and received a rabbinical diploma. Becoming a member of the religious pioneering movement, he joined the Palestine Office in Berlin and was active in Germany on behalf of Youth Aliyah. He came to Palestine in 1939 and entered the teaching profession in Tel Aviv. He is a leading member of Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the religious *bloc* list, he became Deputy Speaker. He favoured the inclusion of his party within the Histadrut and emerged as one of the leaders of the "Lamifne" faction. Re-elected in 1951, he was appointed Minister of Health in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted coalition Government. When the General Zionists were included in the coalition in December 1952 he was given the Ministry of Posts, which he retained in Mr. Sharett's coalition formed in January 1954 and in Mr. Ben-Gurion's coalition of November 1955.

27. Carmel, Moshe

Minister of Transport.

Born in Poland in 1911. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the University of Paris. Settled in Palestine in 1924. He became an officer in the Haganah in 1941 and commanded units in the Haifa district during the closing years of the Mandate. He was detained by the Mandatory Government for a period in Acre prison. He served in the Israel Defence Forces and became Military Commander of the Northern District. He is a member of the Agriculture Council of the Histadrut, but is not a member of the Knesset.

28. Chazan, Yaakov Arie

Mapam M.K.

Born in 1899 in Brest-Litovsk and educated in Poland. One of the founders of the Hashomer Hatzair movement in Poland and of its world organisation. Came to Palestine in 1923 and helped to found the kibbutz at Mishmar Ha'emek, where he still resides. Is on the Secretariat of the Hashomer Hatzair Federation (kibbutz Artzi). Member of the Zionist General Council and delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1928. Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee. Member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. M.K., 1949. Re-elected 1951 and 1955.

Mr. Chazan is one of the most active Mapam leaders and a pro-Soviet extremist though he remains a Zionist. He is given to immoderate statements and in a speech early in 1949 described Soviet Russia as his "second homeland."

29. Cohen, Haim

Attorney-General (1950).

Born in 1911 at Lübeck (Germany). Studied at Universities of Munich, Hamburg and Frankfurt. Came to Palestine in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University and Rabbinical College, Jerusalem. In private legal practice 1937-48. In 1948 he became secretary of the Jewish Agency's Legal Council and was engaged in legal work in preparation for independence. In June 1948, he entered the civil service as State Attorney and Director of the Department of Prosecution in the Ministry of Justice; he later became Director-General of the Ministry as well. Appointed Attorney-General, February 1950, and Minister of Justice June 1952, continuing to hold the office of Attorney-General as well. In December 1952 he had to give up the Ministry of Justice and his seat in the Cabinet to make way for the Progressive and General Zionist members, but he remains Attorney-General.

Mr. Cohen is a non-party man and is not a member of the Knesset.

30. Comay, Michael Saul

Israel Ambassador to Canada (1954).

Born in 1908 at Capetown. Educated in South Africa (B.A., LL.B.) and practised at the South African bar till 1940. Served with South African Forces, 1940-46, in the Western Desert and in Britain, in Military Intelligence (Captain) and Army Education (Major); twice mentioned in despatches. After the war he came to Palestine as special representative of the South African Zionist Federation and entered the service of the Jewish Agency Political Department. Was attached to the Jewish delegation to the United Nations, 1947-48. He became Director of the British Commonwealth Division when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was first established and in May 1952 Assistant Director-General in the Ministry, being responsible for the British Commonwealth, American and Western European Divisions. He was appointed the first Israel Minister to Canada in 1953 and became Ambassador there in August, 1954.

Mr. Comay is intelligent and able. He talks well and is outwardly friendly, but is a difficult and moody man who never relaxes. He is suspicious and critical of the United Kingdom, and is hypersensitive to criticism of Israel's policies. Formerly almost hostile, the prejudices of his wife (a vain woman) and himself have somewhat abated.

31. Dan, Hillel

Managing director, Solel Boneh.

Born in 1900 at Vilna. Veteran Commander of the Haganah. Has held a series of increasingly important administrative posts in the Histadrut and is now a member of its Executive. He helped to relaunch Solel Boneh after its 1922 bankruptcy and make it a success, and since 1935 he has been responsible for policy in all Histadrut industrial enterprises. He is a director of the Israel Mining Company, a Government concern formed to exploit minerals in the Negev, and a member of the Economic Advisory Council, as well as a director of the German Reparations Purchasing Company.

Mr. Dan is a dictatorial character, who inspires respect but also fear in his subordinates. Said to be ruthless but a man of his word. Hates paper work but has a remarkable memory for salient facts and figures. Speaks no English.

32. Dayan, Rav-Aloof (General) Moshe

Chief of Staff.

Born 1916 Degania (Galilee). Brought up at the co-operative settlement of Nahalal. His father, Shmuel Dayan, is a Mapai M.K., and his brother was killed in the Palestine War. Early associated with the Haganah and was a volunteer in Wingate's "night squads." Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1939 for illegally engaging in secret military training, he was released in 1941 to join a scout unit formed to assist the British Army in Syria against the Vichy French. He lost his left eye in the fighting and now wears an eyeshield. In 1948-49 he commanded a Palmach Brigade and later was Military Commander of the Jerusalem area. He then headed the military section of the Israel mission at the armistice negotiations in Rhodes. On his return, was appointed chief Israel delegate to the four Mixed Armistice Commissions. Relinquished this appointment in November, 1949, becoming Regional Commander of the Southern Area with promotion to rank of Aloof. In October 1951 he relinquished this command and went to the United Kingdom for a course at the Senior Officers' School, Devizes. In May 1952 he was given command of the Northern Area and in December 1952 he went to G.H.Q. as Head of the General Staff Branch.

In December 1953 Dayan succeeded General Makleff as Chief of Staff of the Israel Defence Forces. He is no lover of administrative work and far prefers the field to his office. He inclines to the view that the Arab States best understand the language of force, and has been closely identified with the activist school of thought, of which he is a skilful exponent.

Dayan is pleasant and friendly, with a reputation as a talented negotiator. There are some signs that he is becoming more moderate with responsibility. His wife received part of her education in England and is active in the encouragement of handicrafts among immigrants from North Africa.

33. Di-Nur, Professor Ben-Zion

Former Minister of Education and Culture.

Born in the Ukraine in 1884. Educated at the universities of Berne and Berlin, the Institute of Jewish Studies in Berlin and the Yeshivot of Tels,

Kovno and Wilna. Came to Palestine in 1921, and was on the staff of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary at Beit Hakerem until 1948. Lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem from 1936-47 and in 1947 Professor of Modern Jewish History there, at the same time becoming Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and member of the university's executive council. A Mapai delegate to Zionist congresses and a member of the Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem, he was elected to the first Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list. He was not re-elected in 1951, but on the formation of the new Cabinet in October 1951 became Minister of Education and Culture continuing as such in the Coalition Government formed in December 1952 and in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954. He did not stand for election to the Third Knesset in 1955. In the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955 his Ministerial responsibilities were transferred to Mr. Aranne.

34. Dobkin, Eliahu

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1933).

Born Bobruisk, Russia, in 1898. Educated at high school and Kharkov University. An active Zionist, he administered the emigration office in Warsaw from 1914-30. He came to Palestine in 1932 and was subsequently elected deputy member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1935) and director of the Agency's Immigration Department (1932). From 1932 on he was continuously concerned with the organisation of immigration. He was a delegate to all the Zionist congresses from 1921 on and in 1933 became a full member of the Zionist Executive. He was a Mapai member of the Provisional Council of State from 1948-49 and later became chairman of the Organisation Committee of the Zionist Executive and was in charge of the arrangements for the 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. In 1951 he was re-elected a Mapai member of the Zionist Executive and became head of the Youth and Immigration Department of the Agency and also of its Administrative Department. He is also a member of the Foundation Fund Executive.

Mr. Dobkin is a leading member of Mapai but has hitherto devoted himself to Jewish Agency affairs and eschewed domestic politics.

35. Dori, Rav-Aloof Yaakov

Former Chief of Staff. President of Haifa Institute of Technology (1951).

Born 1899 at Odessa. In Palestine since 1906. Studied at Reali School, Haifa. Served in the Jewish Legion 1918-21, becoming sergeant-major. Studied at University of Ghent, Belgium, 1922-26, graduating as civil engineer. 1926-29, served in technical department of Palestine Zionist Executive. Associated from the start with the Haganah, from 1929 onwards he was entirely engaged in its service, becoming head of its training department, and, from 1939, its Chief of Staff. In 1945-47 spent eighteen months in the United States. Emerged into the open as Haganah leader in May, 1948, and directed military operations throughout the Arab war. In November, 1949, he relinquished the post of Chief of Staff and went abroad on sick leave. On his return he was seconded to the Prime Minister's office (May, 1950) to act as Head of its Science Division, representing the Prime Minister in relations with various scientific bodies. In February 1951 he became president of the Haifa Institute of Technology (Technion), continuing part-time as head of the Scientific Division. He also became chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Mining Company, a Government development organisation. In 1951 he was also appointed a Government director of the new Dead Sea potash company.

Rav-Aloof Dori is a man of broad culture and a good linguist who has spent much time in studying military literature and arranging for the production of military text books in Hebrew. A small bespectacled man, he looks more like a professor than a military commander, but he had experience of fighting in the Arab disturbances of 1921, 1929 and 1936-39. He has the reputation of being politically impartial, very hard working and personally modest. The reason given for his retirement from the army was weak health, and he undoubtedly suffers from an ulcerated stomach. But there were other reasons, among them his attachment to Haganah tradition and unadaptability to the needs of a modern army and his reluctance to weed out officers associated with Mapam.

36. Eban, Aba

Head of Israel Delegation to United Nations (1948) and Ambassador at Washington (1950).

Born in 1915 at Capetown of a Lithuanian Jewish family. Brought up in England and educated at Cambridge (1934-39), where he obtained a triple first in Arabic, Hebrew and Persian. Associated with the Zionist Movement from boyhood. Representative at the World Zionist Congress, Geneva, 1939. Commissioned in the British Forces, 1939, and sent to the Middle East as Chief Arab Censor at G.H.Q., Cairo, 1940. In 1942 he was appointed liaison officer with the Jewish Agency for special operations in the event of German occupation of Palestine. 1943, appointed Chief Instructor, Middle East Arab Centre, Jerusalem. 1946, head of the Jewish Agency's Information Department, London. Participated in the World Zionist Congress, Basle, 1946. Jewish Agency liaison officer with the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, 1947. Went with the latter to New York, where he remained, assuming leadership of the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in July 1948. In May 1950 he was appointed to succeed Mr. Elath as ambassador in Washington, at the same time remaining Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

Mr. Eban, whose Hebrew name of Even has not become established, even in Israel, is highly intelligent. He is a very sharp controversialist in his official capacity and has been an eloquent though hardly conciliatory Israel spokesman at the United Nations. He is in the inner counsels of the Government on all foreign matters of importance. Like many leading Israelis he has too much on his shoulders.

37. Elath, Eliahu

Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

Born in 1903 at Snovsk (Ukraine), son of a timber merchant. Graduated at a non-Jewish school and began studying medicine at Kiev but was imprisoned in 1922 for participation in a secret congress of the Zionist Youth Movement. In 1923, after a short period of underground Zionist activity in Moscow, he made his way to Danzig to participate in a world conference of Hechaluts (pioneers). Remained in the Baltic for a year, organising illegal emigration from Russia via Latvia to Palestine, where he settled himself in 1925. Worked as agricultural labourer (secretary of the Rehovoth Labour Council) and construction labourer in Transjordan. Fought as a Haganah commander during the Arab disturbances of 1929. Studied Arabic at the Hebrew University and the American University, Beirut (1928-34). In 1930 he was awarded a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship for the study of the Syrian bedouin. From 1931-34 was Reuter's representative in Beirut. On completion of his studies joined the political department of the Jewish Agency and from 1934-45 was head of its Middle and Near East Division.

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Travelled extensively in the area, including Persia and Turkey. From 1945 onwards the Agency employed him on various political missions in the United States, including the San Francisco conference. On the declaration of independence he became Israel diplomatic representative in Washington, his status being raised in February 1949 to that of Ambassador. Transferred to London as Minister in June 1950 and became Ambassador there in 1952.

Mr. Elath is a sociologist and orientalist and has written books on the Beduin (among whom he has lived) and on Lebanon and Transjordan. He is an extremely intelligent and likeable person who inspires confidence and gives an impression of honesty and straightforwardness as well as ability. His wife has similar qualities.

38. Eliashar, Eliahu

Former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem and former Sephardic M.K.

Born in 1899 at Jerusalem of an old established family of local landowners. Served in the Turkish Army 1915-18. Attended the French University in Beirut and the Jerusalem Law Classes and in 1922 entered the Palestine Government service. Was in charge of the Trade Section and Official Receiver of Companies and Bankruptcies; edited the Official Census of Industries Report (1927-29) and the Government Commercial Bulletin. Left the service in 1934 and has since engaged in business. Is a director of several important commercial and financial companies and has been Managing Director of the Jerusalem Development Company and of Buildco, Ltd.

Mr. Eliashar was formerly on the Board of the Jerusalem Jewish Council, and became president of the Sephardic Community in Jerusalem. Elected to the Knesset in 1949, he became more openly critical of the Government. Finally, in May 1951, he had to resign leadership of the United Sephardim movement, of which he represented the wealthy Right-wing element. He was the first politician openly to propose in the Knesset (May 1950) that Israel should abandon neutrality and adopt a Western orientation. Was Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem from January 1951 until the summer of 1955. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1951 on the Sephardic and Oriental Communities list supporting the General Zionists. In November 1951 he was elected a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities. He failed to secure election to the Third Knesset in 1955.

39. Erem, Moshe

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in Russia in 1896. Educated at the universities of Leningrad and Moscow. Was from 1915-22 Commissar for Labour in the Soviet administration in Poland. He became one of the founders of the Poalei Zion Party and came to Palestine in 1924. He was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was a senior official in the Ministry of Minorities until its dissolution. He was also for a number of years a member of the Histadrut Executive. In politics he joined the Left Poalei Zion faction which merged with Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avoda to form Mapam, and was elected a Mapam member of the Knesset in 1949 and re-elected in 1951. He took a prominent part in Peace Movement activities and on the occasion of Admiral Edelman's visit to Israel in 1951 he vigorously attacked the part the Royal Navy had played in preventing illegal immigration. He has consistently taken a stand with the extreme pro-Soviet members of his party. In 1951 he came

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into conflict with the Communist Party and was denounced by the Communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am* as a "veteran professional anti-Communist agitator" and as a "modern Titoist." In 1954 he left Mapam and became a member of the independent Achdut Avoda Party. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955.

40. Eshkol, Levi

Minister of Finance.

Born in 1895 at Ortowo (Ukraine). Received a high school and religious education at Vilna and came to Palestine in 1914. In 1918 he served in the Jewish Legion. He then participated in the foundation (1920) of two communal settlements (Degania "B" and Kiryat Anavim) and the smallholders' settlement of Ataroth (1922). Always associated with agricultural enterprise and author of numerous articles on colonisation, in 1935 he became a director of "Nir," the Histadrut agricultural credit institution, and a member of the Histadrut's Central Agricultural Council. Founder and manager of the "Mekorot" water company (1937). Became a director of the Workers' Bank and of the public works and housing corporations "Bizur" and "Amidar."

In 1948 Mr. Eshkol served for a time as one of the three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government. A member of the Zionist General Council and Jewish Agency Executive, he became Director of the Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department. In October 1949 he was appointed acting treasurer of the Agency and was confirmed in that post by the Executive Plenary in January 1950.

In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list. He continued as treasurer and head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, but in October 1951 he became Minister of Agriculture and Development as well. In June 1952 he succeeded Kaplan as Minister of Finance. He subsequently gave up his post as Jewish Agency Treasurer, but remained in charge of the Agency's Settlement Department and continued as a member of the Agency's Executive. He remained Minister of Finance in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954 and in the coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion after the elections to the Third Knesset.

Mr. Eshkol is a leading member of the Government and on several occasions acted as Prime Minister in the latter's absence. Able and sincere, he is an agreeable person to meet; but he has a tough and uncompromising side of his character and an inclination towards activism.

41. Eytan, Walter George

Director-General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born in 1910 at Munich. Went to England as a boy. Naturalised British subject, 1926. Educated at St. Paul's School, London, and Queen's College, Oxford. Was lecturer on German philology at the latter, 1936-46. Joined the Royal Armoured Corps 1939. Transferred in 1940 to Naval Intelligence in which he served till the end of hostilities. 1946, settled in Palestine and till 1948 directed the Jewish Agency's Public Services College. May, 1948, appointed Director-General (Permanent Under-Secretary) of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Headed the Israel delegation to the armistice negotiations at Rhodes, 1948-49. Paid an official visit to India, 1952. He retains his interest in improving the quality of Israel's Civil Service and is chairman of the Public Commission for Civil Service Examinations.

Mr. Eytan is a highly intelligent and cultured person with moderate views though beneath his donnish exterior he is a fanatical Zionist. He has the reputation of being a good organiser. It is difficult to judge the extent of his influence in the formation of Israel's foreign policy.

42. Foerder, Dr. Yeshayalm

Progressive M.K.

Born in Germany 1901. Educated at the universities of Königsberg, Heidelberg and Freiberg. Was in practice as a lawyer in Berlin and secretary of the Zionist organisation in Germany. Came to Palestine in 1933 and was active in organising the settlement of middle-class immigrants. Was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was one of the founders of "Rassco," a company providing housing for immigrants. He was Food Controller from 1948-49. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the Progressive list and was re-elected in 1951 and 1955. He is a member of the advisory council to the Investments Centre and in November 1952 became chairman of the Public Advisory Council for reparations from Germany.

Dr. Foerder is pro-British, friendly and extremely intelligent and is the brains of the Progressive Party.

43. Galili, Israel

Achdut Avoda M.K.

Born in 1904 at Pinsk in the Ukraine and received a secondary education in Palestine. Active in the Haganah from early youth, he was second-in-command of its underground forces and acted as its Commander-in-Chief during the first months of the Arab war in 1948. For a time he served as one of three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government, but quarrelled with Mr. Ben-Gurion over the spirit and organisation of the Army and the rôle of Palmach in it, and was dropped. He was a Mapam member of the Knesset from 1949-51. Though bitter about the Army Mr. Galili showed himself conciliatory on other questions debated by Mapam and Mapai. In the winter of 1949-50 he was active in the negotiations between the two parties and led the Mapam minority group which wished to continue them. Though opposing the Israel Government's stand over Korea and the secession of the Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions, he emerged as a leader of the less extreme wing of Mapam, who opposed the out-and-out pro-Cominform stand of Hashomer Hatzair. In June 1951 he was still a member of the Mapam Central Committee of five, but, probably as the result of disagreements with the extremists, he was placed last on the Mapam list for the 1951 elections, with no hope of re-election. In April 1952 the struggle between him and the extreme pro-Soviet group came to a head, and he was forced to resign from the Mapam Central Committee and from all other party committees. In 1954 he left the party with other members of the Achdut Avoda faction and became a M.K. in 1955.

Mr. Galili is a resident member of the mixed kibbutz at Na'an, which he helped to found (1930), and Chairman of the Regional Council in which it is comprised. He is a forceful speaker but lacks education. He visited the United Kingdom in 1954 under the auspices of the British Council.

44. Givli, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Benjamin

Chief of Staff, Northern Command.

Colonel Givli was born in Israel in 1919 and was an enthusiastic member of the Haganah up to the end of the Mandate. He spent a year at Princeton University in 1953 and then went on a three months

course to the Senior Officers School, Devizes, where he was reported on as a very intelligent, capable and shrewd officer. His English improved greatly as a result of these visits.

He was employed, on and off, for five years at I.D.F.G.H.Q. mainly as Director of Intelligence. In May 1955 he took up his present appointment.

45. Goldstein, Dr. Sydney

Scientist.

Born in 1903 at Hull, Yorkshire. Studied at Leeds and Cambridge (M.A., Ph.D. (1928)). Spent a year as a Rockefeller Research Fellow at the University of Goettingen and then worked at Manchester and Cambridge Universities. At Manchester, where he lectured in applied mathematics, he built up a school of fluid mechanics which has been described as "unsurpassed in Europe." At Cambridge he became a Fellow of St. John's. During the Second World War he worked on aeronautics at the National Physical Laboratory. He became chairman of the British Council for Aeronautical Research and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1950 Dr. Goldstein came to Israel and began building up from nothing a Department of Aeronautical Engineering at the Haifa Institute of Technology with American funds. In 1951 he became vice-president of the institute. In June 1954 he left for Harvard University to spend a year as visiting professor.

Dr. Goldstein is one of the few Anglo-Saxon Jews who have thrown up distinguished careers to help build up the Jewish State. He is a strong, forceful personality. His wife is a South African and a physicist.

46. Granott, Dr. Abraham

Chairman of the Jewish National Fund.

Born in 1890 at Falesti (Bessarabia). Studied law and economics at Universities of Freiburg and Lausanne (Doctor of Law). Joined the staff of the Jewish National Fund in Holland, 1919; appointed its managing director, 1925; elected member (1934) and Chairman (1945) of its Board of Directors. In Palestine since 1922. Author of several books on Palestine land problems on which he is the leading authority. Director or chairman of various development, settlement and water companies. Member of the Executive Council of the Hebrew University and president of two important cultural foundations.

In the Provisional Council of State (1948-49) Mr. Granott was one of the six representatives of the General Zionists, but he left them at the foundation of the Progressive Party, of which he was elected M.K. (1949). He was not very active in the Knesset. He was at one time Chairman of the Finance Committee, but devoted himself mainly to the National Fund (Keren Kayemet), of which he is now chairman. In 1951 he was elected to the Second Knesset on the Progressive list, but resigned this seat two months later.

47. Grossman, Meir

Journalist: Head of Economic Department of Jewish Agency.

Born in Russia in 1888. Studied in St. Petersburg and Berlin Universities. In 1905 he started to participate in Jewish public activities and launched a long journalistic career. During the first World War he joined Jabotinsky in his fight to acquire the right to set up Jewish battalions. After the war he founded, in London, the Jewish Information Bureau. With the establishment of the State he headed the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency. A member of the General Zionists he writes regularly in Hebrew in the world Jewish press.

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Dr. Grossman is an affable man and is well disposed towards Britain. His son studied in England and is a member of the M.F.A. His daughter is married to the Head of the Israel Information Office in New York.

48. Habibi, Emile

Communist M.K.

Born at Haifa in 1921. Educated at secondary school. Became a journalist and editor of the Communist paper *Al Itihad*, being prominent in Communist activities in Palestine. He was fifth on the Communist list at the 1949 elections but was unsuccessful, and first entered the Knesset at the 1951 elections. Re-elected in 1955. He is a member of the Communist Central Committee. He is prominent in "Peace Movement" activities and has attended numerous peace congresses. He paid a brief visit to the United Kingdom in 1954 to attend a conference of the British Communist Party.

49. Hacabi, Aloof Mishne Yehoshophat

Director of Military Intelligence.

Born in Palestine in 1921. Served in the British Army during the second world war. He later became a Company Commander in the Hagana. He is a graduate of the Hebrew University, and for a time served as a Secretary to Sharett. In 1954 he attended a course in France, returning in May 1955, when he took up his present appointment.

Colonel Hacabi is a friendly, good-natured man, though rather intense. He has made a special study of North African affairs, and is regarded as one of Israel's leading experts on Arab affairs.

50. Hacoheh, David

Mapai M.K.

Born in 1898 at Homel (White Russia). His father, a distinguished Hebrew writer and founder of co-operative financial institutions, brought him to Palestine as a boy (1907). Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the military school, Istanbul. Served as a Turkish Army officer in the First World War. Studied at the London School of Economics. A founder of Solel Boneh (1924) and now managing director of it and various other associated companies of the Histadrut and Chairman of the Zim Shipping Company. Became Municipal Councillor, Haifa, in 1927 and was Deputy Mayor from 1948-51. During the Arab rebellion he was associated with Brigadier Wingate in the organisation of the "Night Squads." During the Second World War he collaborated with the Ministry of Economic Warfare in organising pro-Allied broadcasts to Syria and supplied Solel Boneh personnel for work with the British Forces outside Palestine. An important member of the Haganah and believed responsible for its sapper work, in 1946 he was among the Zionist leaders detained at Latrun. Elected M.K. (Mapai) in 1949 and re-elected to Second Knesset in 1951, he became a member of Mapai's Steering Committee and of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. He was an alternate delegate to the 1951 United Nations General Assembly and took a prominent part in Inter-parliamentary Union activities. In July 1953 he accepted, somewhat reluctantly, the post of first Israel Minister to Burma. He, nevertheless, threw himself wholeheartedly into his work and in a short time built up close and apparently friendly ties between the two countries; he also travelled a good deal in the other countries of South-East Asia. In 1954 he again attended the United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Israel Delegation. He returned to Israel in 1955 and was again elected to the Knesset.

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Mr. Hacoheh is an energetic and forceful man. A very successful business manager, he behaves more like a typical company director than a trade unionist. His wife (née Bracha Habas, which is still her *nom de plume*) is a prominent journalist and Mapai intellectual.

51. Hakim, Mgr. George

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Acre, Haifa, Nazareth and Galilee.

Born at Tanta, Egypt, in 1908. Educated at the Jesuit College at Cairo and St. Anne's Seminary, Jerusalem. Ordained priest in 1930, he taught at the Patriarchal School in Beirut and then became moderator and subsequently principal of the Patriarchal School at Cairo. He made a great success of this post. In Egypt he published a French periodical called *Le Lien* and he also founded an Arabic periodical called *Ar-Rabita (The Link)* which is published in Haifa and is the organ of the Greek Catholics in Israel.

In 1943 he came to Haifa as Archbishop. Though at first opposed to the founding of the Jewish State, he has found a *modus vivendi* with the Israel authorities and is allowed to pay visits to Beirut and the Old City of Jerusalem on Church and refugee business. He is anti-Communist, and his activities among the Arab population in Israel have brought him into violent conflict with the Communist Party. Hakim regards himself as the unofficial leader of the Arab minority in Israel.

52. Harari, Izhar

Progressive M.K.

Born in 1908 at Jaffa. Educated at the Herzlia Gymnasium at Tel-Aviv, the Sorbonne, the Law School in Jerusalem and the London School of Economics. He also studied at the School of Journalism in Paris. From 1934 he was in private legal practice and in 1938 he became legal adviser to some municipal councils. He was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Central Committee of the Israel Bar Association. In 1948 he joined the Israel army and was appointed vice-president of the Military High Court with the rank of Sgan-Aloof (Lieut.-Colonel). He retired from the army after his election to the Knesset in 1949, where he became chairman of the House Committee and made a considerable contribution to the determining of parliamentary procedure. He was re-elected in 1951 and 1955. He is one of the leading legal experts in the Knesset and plays an active part in debates. He has advocated the unification of education and the passing of a series of fundamental laws to be eventually combined in one constitution. In July 1950 he was a member of the parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom. In 1953 he was offered the post of first Israel Minister to Canada but turned it down.

53. Hering, Ze'ev

Labour leader.

Born in Poland in 1910. Educated at Warsaw University. Speaks English, German and Polish. Is married and has one son. He spent two years in the early 1950's at the London School of Economics, a period on which he looks back with great pleasure. He is a member of the Central Committee of Mapai and is head of the Histadrut's Organisation Department in which capacity he reports direct to the Secretary-General. He is very serious-minded and commands considerable respect among the leaders of both Mapai and the Histadrut. At 45 he is younger than most responsible persons in the labour movement. He is soberly but firmly pro-British.

54. Herzog, Aloof Mishne Haim Vivian

Commander Jerusalem District.

Born in Belfast, 1918. Son of the Chief Rabbi. Educated in England where he became a barrister-at-law. Served in the British Army in Intelligence and was in Germany when the war ended. He was released in 1946 as a Major. In May 1948 he became Director of Military Intelligence in the Israel Army and built up the Israel Defence Force Intelligence system. He was the first Israel Military Attaché in Washington. He took up his present appointment in November 1954 and has earned the reputation of being moderate and helpful in dealing with border problems in his district.

55. Herzog, Yitzhak

Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim.

Born at Rodvitski in 1888. Educated at Leeds University (M.A.), and is a D.Litt. of London University. Also studied at the Sorbonne and Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris. Became a Rabbi in 1910. Was Rabbi of Belfast (1916) and Chief Rabbi of the Irish Free State (1925). Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi Community in Palestine since 1936, resident in Jerusalem. Member of various learned societies and author of numerous books and studies.

A venerable-looking figure in a top hat, Dr. Herzog appears on all national occasions among the leaders of Israel. He is not much consulted by them but wields considerable indirect influence through the religious party in the Knesset. His fierce opposition to the Women's Conscription Amendments introduced by Mr. Ben-Gurion in the spring of 1951 and again in 1953 produced direct conflict between the Rabbinate and Mapai, but on other occasions he has usually managed to keep clear of politics. He has the reputation of being sincerely anglophile. A man of great learning and considerable acumen.

56. Hoofien, Eliezer Siegfried, M.B.E.

Banker.

Born in 1881 at Utrecht. Attended Amsterdam Commercial College and entered a private banking firm at Amsterdam (1899). Public Accountant, Amsterdam (1903-09). Director of the Zionist Central Office, Cologne (1909-12). Came to Palestine in 1912 and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi le Israel): assistant general manager (1912), joint general manager (1919), general manager (1924-47), chairman of the board of directors since 1947. Honorary president of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Chamber of Commerce. Chairman and managing director of the General Mortgage Bank and chairman of the Mortgage Bank. In 1948 he was appointed economic co-ordinator attached to the Prime Minister's Office. On the establishment of the State Bank in December 1954, he was appointed chairman of the Advisory Council and the Advisory Committee.

He is a strong personality, influential and respected. He has on several occasions publicly urged drastic reductions in Israel's standard of living to enable her to balance her payments, and has attacked the Prime Minister and the Government for failing to take the necessary measures to avert economic collapse.

57. Horowitz, David

Governor of the State Bank.

Born 1899 at Drohobycz (Galicia). Educated at Lwow and Vienna. Came to Palestine in 1919. Took part in land reclamation, Nahalal (1921). Member, Histadrut Council (1920) and Executive Council (1923). Author of books on economic and political subjects. Economic adviser to the American Economic Committee for Palestine (1932-35).

Economic Adviser to the Treasury of the Jewish Agency, Director of its Economic Department and Co-Director of its Economic Research Institute (1935-48). Lecturer at the High School for Law and Economics, Tel Aviv. Was member of various Government committees of the mandatory régime, including the Standing Committee for Commerce and Industry and the Textile Advisory Board. Appeared as economic expert before the Royal Commission of 1937, the Anglo-American Commission of 1946 and the United Nations Commission of 1947. Was attached to the latter as liaison officer and followed it to Lake Success as member of the Jewish Delegation. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance from May 1948 until June 1952, and from 1950-52 was also Economic Adviser to the Government. In March 1953 he was appointed first director of the new State Bank and put in charge of the preparatory work. A month later he also became chairman of the Foreign Currency Board. He became Governor of the State Bank when it opened on December 1, 1954. A director of Histadrut workers' housing companies, of a South African group of companies and other enterprises.

Mr. Horowitz is a man of unusual energy and intelligence and for four years dominated the Ministry of Finance. He had all the strings of financial and economic policy in his hands. He is an able and skilful negotiator, and played the leading Israel part in the conclusion of the Anglo-Israel financial agreement of March 1950 concerning the liquidation of the Mandate, and the negotiations for the release of Israel's sterling balances, and the unsuccessful negotiations for sterling credits for the purchase of oil in 1952.

He did not see eye to eye with Mr. Ben-Gurion and resigned his office as soon as Mr. Kaplan left the Ministry of Finance. Until 1952 he carried the main burden of keeping Israel solvent, and the strain told on him heavily.

58. Hushi, Aba

Mayor of Haifa.

Born 1898 in Poland and educated there. Came to Palestine in 1920 and first worked as a labourer in Haifa port and in the settlements. Later occupied various positions in the Haifa Labour Council and became its secretary. He was one of the founders of the Palestine Labour Union.

In due course he became a member of the Histadrut Executive and of the management of Solel Boneh. In 1949, as a member of Mapai, he was elected to the Knesset, and remained a member until January 1951, when he was elected Mayor of Haifa. Re-elected Mayor in 1955.

A man of great energy, Mr. Hushi is dictatorial and ruthless but unquestionably able. He has great plans for the improvement of Haifa and is throwing himself wholeheartedly into them. He has for long enjoyed good relations with Arabs and advocated solidarity between Jewish and Arab labour.

59. Hyman, Zemach

Consul-General in New York.

Born in London in 1889, the son of an East-End Rabbi. He and his wife met when they were medical students. He served in Palestine during the First World War in the Jewish Legion and settled in the country in 1922, joining the staff of Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.) and becoming manager of its Western Jerusalem branch. He was appointed Economic Counsellor in Washington in 1950 and transferred to South Africa as Minister at the end of 1951. In 1951 he was appointed Consul-General in New York. He has three children.

60. Izakson, Zvi

Chairman of the board of directors of the Pardess Syndicate Co-operative Society.

Born in Minsk in 1888, he came to Palestine as a child. Studied at the Mikve Israel Agricultural School near Tel Aviv and also in Turkey. During the first World War he lived in the United States and took part in all local and Zionist activities. He returned to Palestine in 1920 and settled in Jerusalem, where he founded a carpet factory. In 1926 he planted an orange grove in Petah Tikva, and from then on started to devote himself to citrus planting and its marketing. In 1932 he moved to Tel Aviv, at which time he became a leading figure in the Farmers' Association; he is one of those responsible for the setting up of the Palestine Citrus Marketing Board. He is very active in communal affairs, is a member of the Executive Committee of the General Zionist Organisation, and president and chairman of various companies and organisations, e.g., president, Farmers' Federation of Israel; chairman, board of directors, Pardess Syndicate Co-operative Society, (Limited) (dealing in citrus); chairman of the Jewish Farmers' Company (Limited); director of Marine Trust Company (Limited). He was a member of Israel's Citrus Marketing Delegation to England and Europe in the years 1949-51.

61. Joseph, Dr. Dov (Bernard)

Mapai M.K.

Born in 1899 at Montreal. Studied law at London and McGill Universities (Ph.D., LL.B.). Was President of the "Young Judea" organisation in Canada. Came to Palestine in 1921. Was in private legal practice in Jerusalem and for several years served as legal adviser and Deputy Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, for which he went on special missions to the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa. Member of its Executive, 1945-48. One of the Jewish leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. Originally a Revisionist, he joined Mapai in 1933. In 1948 he became Military Governor of Jewish Jerusalem and successfully organised essential supplies during the siege. Elected Mapai M.K., 1949, and appointed Minister of Supply and Rationing, he succeeded, despite much public grumbling, in applying an "austerity" programme of rationing and price control which did much to stem inflation. He was also "temporarily" Minister of Agriculture.

In the Cabinet reshuffle of October 1950, which was largely occasioned by criticism of his handling of economic controls, he took over the Ministry of Communications. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951, he became Minister of Trade and Industry and also Minister of Justice in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted coalition Government. In the Government reorganisation of June 1952 he was relieved of the Ministry of Justice, but continued as Minister of Trade and Industry. On the entry of the General Zionists into the coalition in December 1952, he had to give up the Ministry of Trade and Industry to them but retained his seat in the Cabinet. In June 1953 he was appointed Minister for Development, which post he retained on the formation of the coalition by Mr. Sharett in January 1954. In the Government reshuffle following the 1955 elections he had to surrender his Ministry which was given to Mapam.

Dr. Joseph has a rather mild and unimpressive exterior, but is endowed with considerable courage and intelligence. By family connexions and personal inclination he is anglophile. His wife also is Canadian born. A daughter was killed in the Palestine War in 1948.

62. Josephtal, Dr. Giora

Treasurer of the Jewish Agency.

Born at Nuremberg in 1912. A leading member of the Jewish Agency Executive, he was for a number of years head of the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1952 succeeded Eshkol as treasurer. He is a member of kibbutz Gal-Ed, near Haifa. A leading member of Mapai, he was in August 1951 re-elected to the Zionist Executive as a Mapai member. In March 1952 he was a member of the Israel delegation which negotiated with representatives of Western Germany for the payment of reparations. Two months later he was offered the Ministry of Finance by Mr. Ben-Gurion but refused it. In October 1952 he was appointed chairman of the German Reparations Purchasing Company.

63. Kidron, Mordechai

Diplomat. Deputy to permanent Israel delegate to United Nations.

Born in South Africa and served in Second World War in South African Air Force and Infantry. Came to Palestine after the war and studied at the Hebrew University. During the siege of Jerusalem he was military governor of the southern part of the city. After the Palestine war he joined the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was sent abroad on several missions. He became in 1949 first secretary and in 1950 counsellor at the Israel Legation in London and in 1951 returned to the Ministry as head of the International Relations Division.

Mr. Kidron has an almost exaggeratedly English manner, but cannot be relied on as pro-British on that account. He is efficient and quick. His wife is Italian, and pleasant.

64. Kohn, Dr. Yehuda Pinhas (Leo)

Political Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the President.

Born Frankfurt-am-Main in 1894. Educated at the universities of Strasbourg, Berlin and Heidelberg (Doctor of Law). Secretary of the Central Office of the World Zionist Organisation, London, 1919-23. Secretary of the Hebrew University Committee in London from 1924-25 and of the Board of Governors of the university from 1925-31. Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation 1931-33, during which time he wrote a book on the Irish Constitution. Secretary of the Political Committee of the Jewish Agency 1934-48. In 1948 he became political adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has served with successive Israel delegations to United Nations General Assemblies and in 1948 he produced a draft constitution for Israel, which has never been adopted. He is one of the Government representatives on the Executive Council of the Hebrew University.

Dr. Kohn is a charming and scholarly man of conservative views, but does not appear to wield or to wish to wield very great power within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

65. Kol, Moshe

Member of the Zionist Executive.

Born at Pinsk in 1911. Educated there and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, having come to Palestine in 1932. Always an active Zionist, he was one of the founders of the General Zionist Organisation in Palestine. He was appointed to the Zionist Executive in 1937 and was first chairman of the Central General Labour Office in Israel. He was a member of the Provisional Government from May 1948 until February 1949, but since 1949 has concerned himself almost exclusively with Jewish Agency affairs, being in charge of Youth Aliyah,

and with the organisation of Jewish appeals. In 1949 he was one of the General Zionists who formed the Progressive Party and was third on the party's electoral list, but did not take his seat. In July 1951 he was again elected, but resigned two months later, when he became Deputy Treasurer of the new Jewish Agency Executive and again head of the Youth Aliyah Department of the Agency. He was elected to the Knesset again in 1955 but once more gave up his seat. He still sits in the Zionist Executive as a General Zionist.

66. Kollek, Theodore (Teddy)

Head of the Prime Minister's Office and of the Government Tourist Office.

Born at Vienna in 1911. A member of kibbutz Ein Gev. He acted as Haganah envoy to the United States before the end of the Mandate and was a leading Haganah intelligence officer, and was also active in the Zionist cause in England as a member of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. In 1950 he became head of the North American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1950 also he acted as secretary to the conference of American Jewish leaders in Jerusalem and at the end of the year was appointed Minister at the Israel Embassy at Washington to supervise fund-raising activities. In 1952 he was released to go to Harvard, but a month later was recalled to Israel and was appointed head of the Prime Minister's Office. He was appointed Head of the Government Tourist Office in 1955.

He speaks good English and is frank, forthcoming and intelligent.

67. Kosloff, Israel R.

Fuel Adviser to the Government.

Born in 1920 in Jerusalem. From 1939 to 1946 he studied at the University of Chicago, from which he obtained degrees in economics. From 1944 to 1946 was employed by the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. He then returned to Jerusalem to take up an appointment with the Palestine Economic Corporation. In 1947 he paid a second visit to the United States and was employed by the Richfield Oil Company of Los Angeles. In 1949 he returned to Israel and entered Government service as an expert on oil matters, later receiving the appointment of Fuel Adviser and Petroleum Commissioner.

Mr. Kosloff has an excellent brain and is a hard worker. He has acquired considerable experience in the technique of negotiation, having represented his country's interests at discussions in London, Washington, Moscow and other European capitals. Inclined to a certain vanity and to a hot temper which can temporarily cloud his judgment, he is apt also to irritate people by his tactics of playing off one party against another. He does not enjoy the confidence of the foreign oil companies.

Mr. Kosloff's wife is the daughter of the late Mr. Max W. Ball, oil geologist in Washington, who has devoted a good deal of study to the oil and mineral resources in the Near East.

68. Laskov, Aloof (Brigadier) Chaim

Head of the General Staff Branch and Deputy Chief-of-Staff.

Born in Russia in 1919. Came to Palestine as a child and was educated at the Reali School at Haifa. He served in the Haganah as a young man and from 1936-37 was a member of Wingate's night squads. From 1941-46 he saw much active service in the British Army, reaching the rank of major. He joined the Israel Army in 1948 and became a staff officer, a battalion commander and later a brigade commander. In August 1948 he became Director of Training, a post which he held for over three years,

during which time he wrote some of the army textbooks. He paid an official visit to the United Kingdom in 1951 and in August of that year was appointed Commander of the Air Force. He was removed from this command in May 1953, after differences with General Makleff, and went to study in England. He returned in August 1955, having benefited enormously from his stay in England and having acquired a very balanced outlook on life. He was immediately appointed head of "G" Branch and Deputy Chief-of-Staff. Brigadier Laskov speaks English, German and Arabic in addition to Hebrew.

Of all the senior officers in the Israel armed services Brigadier Laskov is the most outspokenly pro-British and has a great admiration for British service methods. He is direct and forceful and has the reputation of being an extremely hard worker. He has great powers of organisation, personality and drive.

69. Lavon, Pinhas

Mapai M.K.

Born 1904 at Kopyczunice in Poland. Studied law at Lwow University. A founder of the Gordonia Youth Movement, he came to Palestine in 1929 and with its first pioneers participated in the foundation of Hulda communal settlement, of which he is still a member. Active in foundation and enlargement of the federation of Mapai communal villages (Hever Hakvutsoth). Served in the secretariat of Mapai 1935-37, and has been on its Executive Committee since 1943. Member of the Histadrut Executive since 1944 and secretary-general from July 1949 to October 1950. Chairman of the Sole Boneh Council and member of the Zionist General Council. Mapai M.K., 1949. Took a leading part in efforts made at the beginning of 1950 to bring Mapam into the Government. Led a Knesset delegation to the United Kingdom in July 1950. In October 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture, a post he held till October 1951, when he left the Government as a result of differences with his colleagues over the priority to be given to foreign currency allocations for food imports. Re-elected to second Knesset, 1951 and to the third Knesset in 1955.

In 1952 he was made Minister without Portfolio and on several occasions acted as Minister of Defence in the absence of Mr. Ben-Gurion. On the latter's resignation as Prime Minister in December 1953, he again served as acting Minister of Defence and was confirmed as Minister in Mr. Sharett's Government. He resigned from the Government in February 1955 after differences with Mr. Sharett over defence policy.

Mr. Lavon is a leading Mapai personality. He has for many years been a close associate of Mr. Ben-Gurion and has, at times, been second to none in his advocacy of a rigorous "activist" policy. Since his resignation from the Government in February he appears to have lost much of his influence and drive.

70. Levanon, Chaim

Mayor of Tel Aviv.

Born in 1899 in Cracow, Galicia. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Cracow University. After the first world war he entered an engineering college and was one of the founders of the Mazrachi Youth Movement. He went to an agricultural training farm for Zionist pioneers and in 1927 he came to Israel and settled in Petah Tiqva, becoming a teacher. He was a founder of the General Zionist Youth Movement and Secretary-General of the party in his area. In 1931 he became Secretary-General of the whole party, travelling abroad frequently on party missions.

He was one of the founders and directors of the party newspaper *Haboker*. After 1939 he established and became secretary of the General Zionist Workers Association. In 1951 he was elected a councillor and subsequently Deputy Mayor of Tel Aviv. In December 1952 he became Acting Mayor when Mr. Rokach became Minister of the Interior, and in April 1953 he was elected Mayor. He was re-elected Mayor in 1955 against the strong opposition of Mapai.

71. Levavi, Arie

Minister to Yugoslavia.

Born at Vilna in 1912. On joining the Israel Foreign Service he was posted to the Israel Legation in Moscow, returning to the Ministry in 1950 on his appointment as head of the Eastern European Division. In May 1952, on the reorganisation of the Ministry, he became Assistant Director-General in charge of the Eastern Europe and Mediterranean areas. In 1954 he was appointed Israel Minister to Yugoslavia.

72. Levin, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir

Agudat Israel M.K.

Born 1894 at Gur (Poland), the son of a Rabbi. After an ultra-religious education he helped to found and later presided over the Polish branch of the World Agudath Israel. Served as representative of Orthodox Jewry in the Warsaw Community Council and was for many years a member of the Polish Sejm. He frequently visited Palestine and, though opposed to political Zionism, did much to propagate the idea of immigration in orthodox circles.

Settling in Palestine in 1940, Rabbi Levin, as a leading member of the Palestine Agudists, went on several missions to the United States and later became Chairman of the World Executive of the Agudath Israel. He was one of the organisers of the "Rescue Committee" for European Jewry. When in May, 1948, the Agudists ceased posing as "non-political" and agreed to participate in the Government of the new State, Rabbi Levin entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Social Welfare. Later in the year his party combined with the Mizrahi groups to form the United Religious Front and he retained the Social Welfare portfolio after the 1949 and 1951 elections, in both of which he was returned to the Knesset at the head of the Agudat Israel list. He ceased to be a Minister when the Agudist parties left the Government in September 1952. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955.

A small bespectacled man with a large beard, wearing a long black coat and skull cap, Rabbi Levin cuts a very rabbinical figure. He is given to making scenes over questions of religious observance, equality of rights for religious Jews and so on. But like many ultra-orthodox Jews he combines reactionary obscurantism with shrewd business capacity.

73. Livneh, Eliezer

Former Mapai M.K.

Born 1902 at Lodz (Poland). Educated at a secondary school in Germany and privately in Germany and England. Came to Palestine in 1920 and became a member of kibbutz Ein Harod. Visited Germany from 1929 to 1931 and on return to Palestine joined Mapai. In 1935-36 he was in the United Kingdom on behalf of the Kibbutz Meuhad movement. He became in due course a member of the Histadrut executive and one of Mapai's leading publicists. He served on the editorial staff of *Davar* and the Jewish Agency "Maarachoth" and from 1948-49 was editor of the Mapai daily newspaper *Hador*. He also edited the Haganah underground news sheet from 1941-47. He became very anti-Soviet and now edits his own weekly paper *Beterem*.

In 1950 he declined an offer of the post of Director of the Voice of America Hebrew broadcasts. He is a member of the Zionist Executive and the Mapai Secretariat and a founder of the Israel-America Friendship League. As a result of differences with his party, he was placed at the end of the party's list for the Third Knesset and was not re-elected.

Mr. Livneh is able and a forceful speaker; although much criticised within the party for his comparatively luxurious way of life, he is recognised as an authority on foreign affairs on which he often takes an independent line. He professes admiration for the United Kingdom, though he is generally critical of our "passive" policy towards the Arab-Israel dispute.

74. Locker, Berl

Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive and Mapai M.K.

Born in 1887 in Poland. Studied economics and political science at Czernowitz University. Came to Palestine before the First World War and helped to found the labour movement. Originally member of the Poalei Zion party (World Secretary 1918-28 and United States Secretary 1928-31) he later joined Mapai. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive since 1931 and its representative in London from 1937 onwards, he succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion as its chairman in 1948. He was re-elected chairman in 1951 and is also joint president of the Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). He was elected to the Knesset in 1955.

Mr. Locker has spent a large part of his life abroad. He took an active part in the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of the Histadrut. He speaks fluent English, and is friendly but not very impressive.

75. Looz, Kadish

Minister of Agriculture.

Born in Russia in 1895. Educated at Karlsruhe and Odessa. Settled in Palestine in 1920. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Histadrut and the Central Committee of Mapai. He has been a member of the Knesset since 1951, is one of Mapai's leading agricultural experts and lives at one of the party's collective settlements in Galilee.

76. Lourie, Arthur

Deputy Director-General, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Born in South Africa in 1903. Educated at Cape Town, Cambridge and Harvard (M.A. LL.B.). Was in private law practice in South Africa and lecturer in Roman Dutch Law at the Witwatersrand University 1927-32. Political secretary to the Jewish Agency in London 1933. After the Second World War he became director of the United Nations office of the Jewish Agency in New York and in 1946 he was liaison officer with the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry in Palestine. In 1948 he became Israel Consul-General in New York and Deputy Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. In 1950 he was given the personal rank of Minister. He returned to Israel in 1953 as Director of the British Commonwealth Division. Promoted Deputy Director-General in 1955, his duties involve the supervision of the British Commonwealth, United States and Western European Divisions of the Ministry. Mr. Lourie is intelligent with an unobtrusive personality, and is generally as helpful and constructive as he can be within the limits of his authority. He has been married twice and has two children by his first wife.

77. Makleff, Mordechai

Born in 1920 at Motza, Palestine, of a family most of whose members were murdered by Arabs in 1929. Graduate of the Technical College, Haifa. On leaving it, joined Wingate's "night squads" and served in the Haganah. Joined the British Army in 1941 and served till 1945, first with the Buffs in the Middle East and then in the Jewish Brigade in Europe, rising to the rank of major. Was an officer of the Israel unit which took Haifa from the Arabs in April, 1948, and subsequently fought as junior and senior officer (Divisional Chief of Staff) throughout the 1948 campaign in Galilee. Headed the military delegation at the armistice negotiations with Lebanon and with Syria, 1949, and then became Director of Staff Duties and in November 1949 Deputy Chief of Staff. Attended a course at the Administrative Staff College, Henley, in 1952, and subsequently visited the United States. In December 1952, he was appointed Chief of Staff in succession to General Yadin and promoted to "Rav Aloof."

Although he had made a high reputation as a fighter in Israel and was undoubtedly an able administrator, he lacked the personality for his high office as Chief of Staff and this was, no doubt, one of the reasons for his replacement by General Dayan in December 1953. He is now general manager of the Government-controlled Dead Sea Potash Company.

He speaks English and Arabic. Married.

78. Mazar, Dr. Benjamin

President and Rector of the Hebrew University. Born Grodno, Poland, in 1906. Educated at schools in Russia and Germany and at the Universities of Berlin and Giessen (Ph.D., 1938). Came to Palestine in 1929 and worked as an archaeologist, carrying out a number of excavations. Connected with the Hebrew University since 1943, he was chairman of its Institute of Jewish Studies and lecturer on the historical geography of Palestine. In 1951 he was elected to a professorship at the University, and in June 1952 he became Rector. In March 1953 he was also elected president of the University.

Dr. Mazar is married to the daughter of the President.

79. Meron, Dr. Gershon Yaakov

Economist and General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation.

Born 1904 at Mannheim, Germany. Studied at the University of Heidelberg where he took the degrees of doctor of laws and doctor of economic science. Lecturer in commercial law, 1928. Served in various Government capacities, 1929-32. Left Germany in 1932 for Palestine where he was first employed with Barclays Bank. Manager of the Jacob Japhet Bank, Tel Aviv, 1934-35. Financial and economic adviser to Solel Boneh, 1945-48. Director of the Economic Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1948-51. During 1950 was also for some months Director-General of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Became General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation, September 1951. He is also Honorary Consul for the Philippine Republic.

Has written several books on sociological, economic and legal subjects and on Germany. Published, 1944, "Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine" in co-operation with Ernest Kahn, and, 1947, "Labour Enterprise in Palestine." Extremely intelligent, Dr. Meron is a friendly and likeable person, strongly pro-British and keen to strengthen Anglo-Israel relations. In spite of a somewhat sorrowful demeanour, he has a strong sense of quiet humour.

80. Mikunis, Shmuel

Communist M.K. and secretary-general of the Israel Communist Party.

Born in 1904 in Poland. Came to Palestine in 1921. Employed by the Shell Company as an engineer in Tel Aviv and was at one time an actor at the "Ohel" Theatre, of which he was one of the founders. Worked with the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement. Imprisoned in 1941 for illegal Communist activities. Published *Kol Ha'am* in Tel Aviv, 1944, and was at one time Secretary-General of the League for Friendly Relations with the U.S.S.R. Studied tactics and propaganda methods of Communist organisations in France and after the World War was in touch with French resistance and Jewish Communist circles. Communist member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. Elected leader of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945. As such, he represented the Party at the British Empire Communist Parties Conference in London, 1947, became Member of the Provisional Council of State, 1948. In 1948 he arranged a merger with local Arab Communist elements and was elected Deputy, 1949, at the head of the combined "Israel Communist Party" list. In the summer of 1949 he made a tour of East European capitals. In February 1951 he was summoned for organising illegal demonstrations against General Robertson. He visits Moscow, on an average, once a year ostensibly for reasons of health.

He is firmly established as the leader of the party. All through he has remained a consistent supporter of Russian policy and virulent critic of the Government. He speaks fluent Russian and Yiddish.

81. Myerson, Mrs. Golda

Minister of Labour.

Born in 1898 at Kiev, 1906, emigrated with her father, a carpenter, to Milwaukee, United States, where she attended high school, graduated at the Teachers' Training College (1920) and joined the Poalei Zion (Socialist-Zionist) Party. Settled in Palestine in 1921, starting as member and agricultural labourer of Merhavia Kibbutz (Hashomer Hatsair), 1921-24. With Solel Boneh, 1924-26. Since 1928, member of the Working Women's Council and its representative in the Histadrut Executive. Associated with Mapai since its foundation (1930). Very active as Histadrut fund-raiser, frequently visiting the United States and the United Kingdom; spent the whole of 1932-33 in America in this capacity. Delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1929 and to the Imperial Labour Conference, London, 1930. Member of the Zionist General Council. Chairman of the Sick Fund (Kupat Holim), 1936-48. Member of the Va'ad Leumi, 1938-48. Director of a number of local economic and cultural institutions. Head of the Histadrut Political Department from 1940 and secretary of the Histadrut Executive, 1945-46. Member of the War Economic Advisory Council set up in 1943. Acting head of the Jewish Agency Political Department during the internment of political leaders in 1946, and head of its Jerusalem branch, 1947.

In May, 1948, Mrs. Myerson became member of the Provisional Council of State but resigned from it on appointment as Israel Minister in Moscow (August 1948 to April 1949). Elected a Mapai M.K. in 1949, she became Minister of Labour a post which she has held since that time. Mrs. Myerson is a strong and attractive personality and a good speaker, being probably Israel's best fund-raiser in the United States. She made no headway with the Russians and was not happy in Moscow,

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but with her organising capacity and long experience of labour questions she is well fitted for her present post. Her husband died in May 1951. In 1953 she led the Israel delegation to the second half of the United Nations General Assembly. She has on several occasions acted as Foreign Minister in the absence of Mr. Sharett.

82. Namir, Mordechai

General Secretary of the Histadrut and Mapai M.K.

Born Bratolubovka, Ukraine in 1897. Educated in Russia. Came to Palestine in 1924. Worked as an unskilled labourer and then as circulation manager of the Labour newspaper *Davar*. He then worked for some time as secretary of the Tel-Aviv branch of Achdut Avoda (the Jewish Labour Party) and on his own account as a statistician. In 1929 he was made director of the Statistical Department of the Histadrut. In 1933 he became also a municipal councillor in Tel-Aviv. In 1940 he was detained by the Palestine Government on charges of agitating against the 1939 White Paper and the Land Transfer Regulations. In 1943 he became Secretary-General of Mapai and from 1944-48 he was head of the Trade Union Department of the Histadrut and a member of the Histadrut Secretariat. He was also a delegate to Zionist congresses.

In May 1948 he was sent as a special envoy to Roumania, and later as counsellor to Moscow, where in 1949 he became minister. Returned to Israel in December 1950 to become General Secretary of the Histadrut. Elected to Second Knesset on Mapai list in 1951 and re-elected in 1955.

Mr. Namir is a widower and although quiet and unpretentious, a man of strong personality and obvious integrity. He speaks a little English. As the head of the Histadrut and a member of the Mapai Executive Committee he is a powerful and influential figure.

83. Naphtali, Dr. Peretz

Minister without portfolio.

Born at Berlin in 1888. Educated at Berlin University. Worked as a journalist from 1912 and was economic editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* 1921-26. Manager of the Economic Research Bureau of the German Labour Movement 1926-33. Was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in Germany and of the Social Democrat Trade Unions. Represented German trade unions in the Reichs-Wirtschaftsrat. Joined the Poalei Zion. Came to Palestine in 1933 and became a lecturer at Haifa Institute of Technology and Tel Aviv. Became managing director of the Workers' Bank (1938-45) and a member of the Tel Aviv municipality (1939) and later economic adviser to the Prime Minister. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list, he was prominent as chairman of economic committees. Re-elected in 1951, he became Minister without portfolio in the reconstituted coalition, with charge of economic co-ordination. This function led in 1952 to chairmanship of the Economic Advisory Council, and in June 1952, on the reorganisation of the Government, he became Minister of Agriculture. He was re-elected to the Knesset in July 1955 and in November was appointed Minister without portfolio. He is a member of the Histadrut Executive.

Dr. Naphtali is one of Israel's leading Socialist economists.

84. Nurock, Mordecai (Max)

Minister to Australia and New Zealand. Born in Dublin in 1893 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Served in the British Army from 1915-19 and came to Palestine in 1919 as secretary to the Zionist Commission. In 1920 he joined the Colonial Administrative Service and served in it in Palestine from 1920-36, beginning as Assistant Private Secretary to the High Commissioner and later becoming Acting Chief Secretary in the Palestine Administration and Secretary to the Customs Tariff Board. From 1936-45 he served in Uganda in several capacities, including those of Deputy Governor of Uganda and Uganda member of the East African Defence Council. From 1945-47 he served as Financial Adviser in the local government and internal communications division of the Control Commission for Germany, and subsequently as Deputy Director of the Division. From 1947-49 he was Civil Establishment Officer in the Allied Commission for Austria. In 1949 he came to Israel as adviser to the Government on Personnel Affairs (1949-51) and Financial Secretary to the Hebrew University (1951-52). Mr. Nurock is married and has two married daughters. Pleasant and amiable he is reported to be efficient and extremely hard working.

85. Nurok, Rabbi Mordecai

Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi M.K. Born in Latvia in 1884 and educated at religious schools and the University of St. Petersburg. Was a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress and to all Zionist Congresses from the Twelfth to the Twenty-Second. He was a member of the Latvian Parliament and was at one time Minister for Jewish Affairs in the Latvian Government. A war-time refugee, his entire family were wiped out by the Nazis in Riga. He was later active in organising illegal immigration from the U.S.S.R. to Palestine by way of Latvia and Danzig. He came to Palestine from Siberia in 1945.

In Israel Rabbi Nurok became a member of the Conservative Religious Mizrahi Party and was elected to the Knesset in 1949. He took a prominent part in inter-parliamentary union affairs and led a Knesset delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference at Dublin in 1950 and to another in Turkey in 1951. He was re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 and in November 1952 was appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the Coalition Government. He voted against the Government, however, over reparations from Germany. In November 1952 he was put forward as a possible candidate for President. A month later he relinquished the Ministry of Posts on the formation of the new Coalition Government and refused the post of Deputy Minister for Social Welfare. In 1955 he was re-elected to the Knesset on the joint Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi list.

Rabbi Nurok is a dignified and respected figure and is not afraid of taking an independent line. He is friendly but ponderous and speaks German and Russian but no English.

86. Onn, Zeev

Histadrut Leader. Born Poland, 1900. Educated in a Rabbinical college. Came to Israel in 1920 since when he has been active in the organisation and direction of co-operative enterprises. In 1949 he became a member of the Executive Bureau of the Histadrut and in the same year was appointed Secretary-General of Hevrat Ha'ovdim (the controlling body of the industrial and co-operative enterprises of the Histadrut). Also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai and of the Council of the Bank of Israel.

87. Peariman, Moshe

Former Director of the Government Information Services.

Born in London, 1911. Educated at the London School of Economics. Was a journalist in London, New York and Palestine from 1934 to 1938. In 1938 he became Public Relations Officer of the Jewish Agency in London. He served in the British army from 1940 to 1946 and was demobilised as a major. In 1948 he was appointed director of the Foreign Press Division of the Public Information Office and in 1951 was made head of the Government Press Service, at the same time holding active rank as an officer in the Israel army. Later he was made head of all Government information services, including broadcasting, films, the press information office and the publicity department. He was granted a year's leave of absence in the summer of 1955. His future is uncertain.

Disconcertingly like Groucho Marx in appearance, Mr. Pearlman has established a reputation for minor eccentricities. His actions do not always fulfil the promise of his affable address, and it may be doubted whether he has wholly shed the anti-British sentiments voiced in his book on the Israel army. In the past year or two he has been under attack by sections of the Press, who allege incompetence, and by sections of Mapai, who would prefer to see his post filled by a person—preferably a Mapai member—whose career had longer and deeper associations with the growth of Israel.

88. Raphael, Gideon

Foreign Ministry official.

Born in 1919 at Shaltenberg. Little is known of him until January 1950, when he represented Israel at meetings of the Palestine Conciliation Commission in Geneva. In the same year he was sent to New York as Counsellor on the Israel Delegation to the United Nations, and attended the General Assembly as an alternate delegate. He attended the General Assembly again in 1951 and has also been present at meetings of the Security Council at which various aspects of the Israel-Arab problem have been discussed. In 1953 he was appointed Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in charge of Middle East and United Nations Political Affairs. His main preoccupation is with relations between Israel and the Arab States. He broadcasts frequently on the Arab Service of Kol Israel, and in the autumn of 1954 met, in Paris, representatives of the Arab Refugee Congress to discuss the release by Israel of blocked absentee and refugee accounts.

Raphael is the leading exponent of the policy of "direct talks" with the Arab States, and prides himself (probably mistakenly) on his intimate knowledge of the Arab mentality. He is Levantine in appearance, manner and attitude of mind, and suffers from the typical Israel failings of confusing ends and means, and thinking that a debating point scored is an advantage gained.

89. Raphael, Itzhak

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive and Hapoel Hamizrahi-Hamizrahi M.K.

Born in 1914 at Sasow, Galicia. Educated at religious schools in Poland, the University of Lvov and the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. He was secretary of a religious workers' movement in Galicia and on coming to Palestine in 1935 became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and a leading member of the religious workers' party Hapoel Hamizrahi. He soon became a prominent figure in the World Zionist Organisation, becoming a director of the Jewish National Fund and from 1941-47 director of the Trade Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1948 a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. In the Palestine War he was a member of the Jerusalem Committee who ran Jerusalem throughout the siege.

From 1949 onwards he was head of the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department and as such was primarily responsible for the organisation of the flow of Jewish immigrants to Israel. In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Hapoel Hamizrahi's list and in the same year he became Hapoel Hamizrahi's representative on the Zionist Executive. Mr. Raphael is married to the daughter of Rabbi Knesset.

90. Rittin, Yaakov

Mapam M.K.

Born in Poland in 1901. High school education. Joined Hashomer Hatzair in Poland and came to Palestine in 1929. Worked as a farmer in several kibbutzim, was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and undertook numerous missions on behalf of the labour movement. Attended the 1947 United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Jewish Agency delegation. Elected a Mapam M.K. in 1949, he emerged as one of the leaders of the extreme Left-wing pro-Soviet wing of the party. He is a member of the Zionist Executive, the Mapam Central Committee, the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League, the Kibbutz Artsi Executive and the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset. When the pro-Soviet Sneh group broke away from Mapam in January 1953, it was generally assumed that he would join them, but his ties with his kibbutz were too strong and he did not do so, being subsequently denounced by the group as a Titoist. He was, however, deprived by Mapam of his office as Political Secretary, though he remained a member of the party's central committee. Member of kibbutz Ein Saemer.

Mr. Rittin is a living example of the contradiction in Mapam between Stalinist ideals and devotion to Zionist and kibbutz life.

91. Rokach, Israel, C.B.E.

General Zionist M.K.

Born in 1896 at Jaffa. Educated at Technical Institutes of Lausanne and Zürich. Worked as electrical engineer in the United Kingdom and Palestine. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1922; Vice-Mayor, 1927; Mayor from 1936 to 1953. Former member of the War Economic Advisory Council (1943) and of the Citrus Control Board. A director of various cultural, political and economic enterprises. Elected General Zionist M.K., 1949, and re-elected to Second Knesset, 1951.

When the General Zionists entered Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government in December 1952, he became Minister of Interior, subsequently resigning (with every sign of reluctance) as Mayor of Tel Aviv. He remained Minister of the Interior in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954 but relinquished the post in 1955 when the General Zionists withdrew from the Government.

Mr. Rokach is a powerful personality and shares the leadership of the General Zionist Party with Mr. Bernstein. He is a tough and none too scrupulous politician and, though energetic, seems lacking in commonsense. He and Mr. Ben-Gurion have hated each other for years. He is well-disposed towards the United Kingdom and is agreeable but rather self-important. Married.

92. Rokach, Isaac

Chairman of the Pardess Syndicate (Citrus Growers) and leading member of the Citrus Marketing Board and head of the Consolidated Maritime Agency, who are agents in Israel for the British Conference Lines.

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Born near Tel Aviv in 1894. Educated in Palestine and at a school of commerce in Lausanne. Has since been in business and in farming. He served in the Turkish Army in the war of 1914-18.

Mr. Rokach is brother of Israel Rokach, and appears to be an influential figure.

93. Rosen, Pinhas-Felix

Leader of Progressive Party and Minister of Justice.

Born in 1887 in Berlin. Studied law at Universities of Freiburg and Berlin. Leader of Zionist youth organisations in Germany. Served six years in the German Army, including the First World War. President of the Zionist Federation of Germany, 1920-23. Spent 1923-25 in Palestine. Returned to Germany 1925. In London, 1926-31, as member of the World Zionist Executive in charge of its Organisation Department. Settled in Palestine 1931; in private legal practice there, 1932-48. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1935. One of the founders (1941) of the Aliya Hadasha Party (new immigrants, mostly from Germany and Central Europe) and its President. Member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. 1948, member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government. In September, 1948, the bulk of his party merged with a section of the General Zionists to form the Progressive Party, under his leadership. Elected M.K., 1949, and resumed the portfolio of Justice. In the Government crisis of October 1950 he tried unsuccessfully to form a Cabinet. After the 1951 elections he left the Government when his party refused to rejoin the coalition without the General Zionists. In 1952 he was again offered the Ministry of Justice on a "personal" basis, but refused it. On the formation of a new Coalition Government in December 1952, however, in which the General Zionists and Progressives were included with Mapai, he accepted the Ministry of Justice. After the refusal of the Progressive Party to join Mr. Sharett's coalition in January 1954, he resigned as Minister of Justice. He returned to the Ministry shortly afterwards when the Progressives reconsidered their stand. He retained the same post in the new coalition formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955.

Mr. Rosen is a sound lawyer, specialising in company law, but he suffers from a certain germanic pedantry and heaviness. In political outlook he is a moderate liberal, and is well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He is generally respected.

94. Rosette, Maurice

Clerk of the Knesset.

Born in London in 1903. Educated at London University, and the University of Wales. He became chief cost clerk of the Stepney Municipality and was active in Jewish and trade union affairs. He stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. In due course he became head of the Information Department and parliamentary agent of the Jewish Agency in London, a member of the board of deputies of British Jews, chairman of the Political Committee of Poale Zion in England and secretary of the Jewish National Board for Great Britain. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became clerk of the Knesset. In 1950 he accompanied the Israel Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Rosette's knowledge of British political life and methods is various and extensive. He is pleasant and intelligent and well informed on parliamentary and constitutional matters. Mr. Mikardo, M.P., is married to his sister.

95. Sahar, Yehezkel

Inspector-General of Police.

Born in 1907 at Jerusalem. Studied at the High School of Commerce, Tel Aviv. Worked for several years in the Anglo-Palestine Bank. In 1933 studied at the London School of Economics and while there was private secretary to Dr. Weizmann, 1940, on a Zionist mission to the United States. 1941, enlisted and served with the Eighth Army in the Western Desert as commander of a Palestine R.A.S.C. Company. Discharged as major after serving in Austria. He subsequently acted as liaison officer between the Jewish Agency and British Headquarters in Palestine. A veteran of the Haganah, he became Inspector-General of Police and Director-General of the Ministry of Police at the foundation of the State. In January, 1950, his rank was made equivalent to that of Chief of Staff (ray-alooof).

Mr. Sahar, though critical of British handling of security in the mandatory period, is friendly and intelligent and aims at maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force. In 1949 he spent several weeks in the United Kingdom, France and the United States studying police organisations and methods. On his return his enthusiasm for Scotland Yard was almost unbounded.

96. Saphir, Yosef

General Zionist M.K.

Born in Jaffa in 1902, educated in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and became a farmer and citrus grower, joining the Executive of the Farmers' Federation in 1938. In 1939 he became the managing director of the Pardess Syndicate, one of the largest citrus growing co-operatives. A year later he became Mayor of Petah Tiqva, a post he held until 1951, becoming chairman of the Home Affairs Committee. When in 1952 the General Zionists entered the Government he was appointed Minister of Health but on his return from abroad he insisted on being given the Ministry of Communications and exchanged portfolios with Mr. Serlin. He relinquished the post in 1955 when the General Zionists left the Government. He is a man of considerable determination and organising ability and seems well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He is married and has two daughters.

97. Sapir, Pinhas

Minister of Commerce and Industry.

Born in Poland in 1909. First came to Palestine in 1930. In 1949 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Defence and visited the United States in 1951 on an arms purchasing mission. In December 1951 he assumed responsibility for the development of the Negev and in the same month was appointed a director of the Dead Sea Potash Co. In July 1953 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance. Shortly after the General Election in July 1955 it was rumoured that he would be resigning from his post in the Ministry of Finance and spending one year studying in the United Kingdom. He nevertheless accepted nomination as Minister of Commerce and Industry in Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government, although he is not a member of the Knesset.

Mr. Sapir has the reputation of being an honest and capable administrator and showed considerable skill in his handling of affairs at the Ministry of Finance. He is said to be pro-British.

98. Sasson, Eliahu

Minister to Italy.

Born before 1898 at Aleppo. Brought up in Syria and studied in Turkey. At one time he was a teacher in the French-Jewish School of the Alliance Israélite at Damascus. Active at first in the Syrian nationalist movement, he later devoted himself entirely to

Zionism and became (about 1936) head of the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem. Head of the Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948. Took a leading part in the armistice negotiations at Rhodes and headed the Israel delegation to the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne (1949) with the rank of Minister. At the end of 1949 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Turkey. In 1952 he was transferred to Rome.

Mr. Sasson speaks perfect Arabic. While working for the Jewish Agency he established the reputation of being not only a connoisseur of Middle East affairs but also *persona grata* with many leading Arab politicians. He is one of the few Sephardic Jews in the Israeli Foreign Service.

99. Schocken, Gustav Gershon

Progressive M.K. and newspaper editor.

Born in 1912 at Zwickau (Saxony) where his father owned a chain store network. Educated at Universities of Heidelberg and London (Social Science). In Palestine since 1933. His family founded Schocken Verlag in Berlin (1931-39) and he is director of its Palestine branch (Schocken Publishing House, Ltd.). In 1937 he and his father took over publication of the principal Hebrew paper of the country, the independent *Ha'aretz*, which he has since edited. In 1955 he was elected to the Knesset on the Progressive list, but announced that the political independence of *Ha'aretz* would be unaffected.

Mr. Schocken speaks fluent English. He has a cosmopolitan outlook in contrast to the somewhat limited horizon of many of his journalist colleagues. Visited United Kingdom officially in 1950.

100. Serlin, Yosef

General Zionist M.K.

Born in Bialystok in 1906 and educated at Lwow and Warsaw University. He became a lawyer and in 1930, private secretary to the prominent Zionist, Nahum Sokolov. He came to Palestine in 1933 as an active Zionist, establishing himself in the practice of law and commercial enterprise and becoming chairman of the political committee of the Karen Hayesod, deputy chairman of the World Union of General Zionists and a member of the Council of the World Zionist Organisation. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the General Zionist list and in 1950 he visited England with the Israel Parliamentary delegation. He was re-elected to the second Knesset in 1951 and became one of the deputy speakers. When the General Zionists entered the Government in 1952 he was appointed Minister of Communications but immediately afterwards had to relinquish this post to Mr. Saphir and take on the Ministry of Health. Following the withdrawal of the General Zionists from the Government in 1955 he relinquished his Ministerial post. He does not appear to be a very forceful personality and has not as yet made any great mark. He is married and has two sons.

101. Shaltiel, Aloof (Brigadier) David

Minister at Rio de Janeiro.

Born in 1903 in Germany. Served as an officer in the French Foreign Legion during the Riff War. Came to Palestine in 1924 and joined the Haganah. Went to Europe to obtain arms for it, was imprisoned by the Nazis and tortured by the Gestapo. Returned to Palestine in 1941 as an exchange prisoner, and received the underground Haganah appointment of Area Commander in Haifa and then (till February,

1948) Chief of Intelligence. Commanded the Israel Brigade in Jerusalem throughout the siege of 1948 but was later removed, reportedly for failure to capture the whole city. In October, 1948, he was in charge of the investigation of the activities of dissident military groups. He then visited Czechoslovakia and several South American States, and on return was appointed Inspector General of the Army. He relinquished the post on becoming Commander of the Frontier Force in November, 1949, but was found too independent and unorthodox for the latter and removed in April, 1950, on being appointed Military Attaché for France and Benelux countries, with residence at Paris. Appointed Minister to Brazil in 1951. Since November 1952, he has also acted as Minister to Venezuela. Friendly and entertaining with a charming wife.

102. Shapira, Moshe

Minister of Social Welfare and Religious Affairs.

Born in 1899 at Grodno (Poland). Son of a rabbi, he was educated at the Rabbinical Seminary, Grodno, worked for a time in the Ministry of Jewish Affairs, Lithuania, and in 1924-25 studied in the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. An active Zionist from early youth and a founder of the Religious Workers Party (Hapoel Hamizrachi). Represented it at World Zionist Congresses since 1923 and became its outstanding leader and chairman in Palestine, where he settled in 1925. Member of the Zionist General Council since 1927. Elected alternate member of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1935 and since then associated with its Immigration Department. Full member of the Executive, 1945-48. Represented Hapoel Hamizrachi in the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and was Minister of Immigration and Health in the Provisional Government. Negotiated a merger (the Religious bloc) with the Mizrachi and Agudist parties for the elections of 1949 and was returned as M.K. In the new Government he continued as Minister of Immigration and of Health and also became Minister of the Interior. Relations between him and his Mapai colleagues broke down early in 1951, but after the elections he retained the Ministry of Interior in the new coalition, relinquishing the Ministries of Health and Immigration but assuming that of Religious Affairs as a new responsibility. On the entry of the General Zionists into the Coalition in December 1952, he relinquished the Ministry of Interior but retained that of Religious Affairs and in addition took on the Social Welfare portfolio. He was re-elected in 1955 and continues to hold both portfolios.

For over twenty years he has struggled to avoid a split in Hapoel Hamizrachi over the question of whether it should join the Histadrut—a course to which he is opposed. He is said to devote all his spare time to Talmudic study.

103. Sharett, Moshe

Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Born in 1894 at Kherson (Ukraine). Emigrated to Palestine with his parents 1906. Educated at Herzliya Gymnasia, Tel Aviv. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14). 1915-18, served as Turkish Army officer (interpreter attached to German liaison staff). 1918-20, on the staff of the Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, and active in the Hitachdut (United Labour) movement. Spent 1920-25 in England, taking B.Sc. degree at London School of Economics and entering the English Executive of Paolei Zion, which he represented at British Labour Party conference. 1925-31, on the editorial staff of the Histadrut organ *Davar*, of which he also produced a weekly edition in English. Joined Mapai on its

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foundation, 1930, and was later elected to its Executive. 1931-1933, private secretary to Arlosoroff, Head of the Jewish Agency Political Department, succeeded him as its Head in 1933 and retained the position, with membership of the Executive, till 1948. In this capacity, was the Agency's main channel of contact with the Government of Palestine and went on numerous missions abroad. During the Second World War was head of the Jewish Agency's Recruiting Department and active in promoting the formation of the Jewish Brigade group. Was one of the Jewish leaders interned at Latrun, 1946. Re-appointed head of the Political Department by the Zionist Congress of December, 1946, but with orders to head it from Washington, he was throughout 1947 the Agency's principal delegate to the United Nations Organisation. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, and was later obliged to resign from the Jewish Agency Executive. Elected M.K. (No. 2 on the Mapai list) in 1949 and again in 1951, he continued as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He acted as Prime Minister when Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Kaplan were away in 1951, and visited the United Kingdom in 1952. In January 1954 he succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister, retaining at the same time the office of Foreign Minister. In the new Coalition Government formed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in November 1955, he continued as Foreign Minister.

Mr. Sharett is an agreeable individual, a remarkable linguist, a voluble talker, and a very quick worker. He is identified with a policy of reasonableness in the handling of foreign affairs in contrast to the more ruthless approach and single-mindedness of Mr. Ben-Gurion. During his term as Prime Minister he considerably increased his reputation in the country and within his own party. He skilfully held together a turbulent coalition and largely succeeded in restraining the more excitable elements within his party.

104. Shenkar, Arich Leib

President, Manufacturers' Association.

President, Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce.

Born in 1877 in Kiev Province, Ukraine. Was a textile manufacturer in Moscow for many years. In 1908 he came to Palestine and purchased land for members of a group of which he was treasurer and vice-president. Returning again in 1924 he founded the Lodzia Textile Company, of which he is owner and Managing Director, and the Industrial Bank of Palestine, of which he is Chairman. President of the Manufacturers' Association since its foundation in 1925. Chairman of the Industrial Credit Council of the Palestine Corporation (London) and a Director of the Tel Aviv Development Company.

Mr. Shenkar is a highly respectable old man. He is not happy in the modern world of controlled economy and has made vigorous public attacks on the policy of the Government. He does not speak English.

105. Shiloah, Reuven

Minister, Israel Embassy in Washington.

Born in 1909 at Jerusalem. One of a family of five. His father is a Jerusalem Rabbi. Educated at the Hebrew University and the Teachers' Seminary, Jerusalem. Specialised in Arabic studies and has travelled extensively in the Middle East. Early connected with the Haganah; organiser of its Arab intelligence service. Taught Arabic in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and from 1935 to 1937 was a teacher at the Alliance School at Bagdad. Visited Kurdistan in 1932. In 1932 he was editor of the Arab section of the *Palestine Post*. Friend of Arlosoroff, who

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interested him in the Socialist youth movement. As assistant political secretary, Histadrut Executive, in charge of Arab affairs (1932-36), he helped to found the Arab Association of Palestine Workers. During the riots of 1936 he was lent by the Histadrut to the Jewish Agency's Political Department and remained in it till 1948. He became head of the Intelligence Section of the Haganah and was for many years liaison officer between the Political Department and British military authorities, including General Wingate. Member of the Jewish Delegation at the Round Table Conference in London (1939). During the World War, as Jewish liaison officer, he assisted the Allies in planning operations behind the enemy lines in neighbouring Arab States and Europe. Went to San Francisco in 1945 as a Jewish Agency delegate to the United Nations Conference and remained in America and Europe for over a year, including a special Haganah mission in the United States and service in the Jewish Agency office in London (1946), and as Mr. Ben-Gurion's secretary while in Paris. On the establishment of the State of Israel he became "Special Adviser" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holding the third place in its hierarchy. Took a leading part in discussions with the Conciliation Commission at Lausanne (1949) and in secret negotiations with Jordan (1949-51). Was a member of the Israel delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1950. He was appointed Minister to the Israel Embassy in Washington in August, 1953.

Mr. Shiloah is a serious and sinister-looking individual with a scar across his rather asiatic features, acquired in the bombing of the Jewish Agency. He improves on closer acquaintance. He is able but probably unscrupulous where his country's interests are concerned. He was responsible for Israel's intelligence services from 1948-52. His wife is American.

106. Shinnar, Pinhas E.

Head of Israel Purchasing Mission at Cologne. Born in Stuttgart in 1905 and educated at high school there and at the Universities of Heidelberg, Tuebingen and Frankfurt. Was manager of a trust company in Germany and official receiver at a Magistrates' Court in Berlin before coming to Palestine in 1934. Since coming to Israel he has held many important posts in the economic and commercial world. He has been a director of investment companies and of the leading Hebrew newspaper *Ha'aretz* and Controller of Fuel at the Ministry of Finance, and he was for some time Director of the Department for "Imports without Payment." He was also for some time Economic Counsellor at the Israel Legation in London. On his return to Israel in 1951 he became Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on German Affairs and a director of the Israel Petroleum Distribution Company. He was put in charge of the negotiations for a Reparations Agreement with Germany in 1952 and carried the negotiations through to a successful conclusion. In April 1953, he was appointed head of the Israel Purchasing Commission in Germany with the personal rank of Minister, and was put in charge of all purchases made under the Reparations Agreement. Before accepting this post he insisted on being given wide powers and considerable discretion.

107. Shitreet, Behor Shalom

Minister of Police. Born in 1895 at Tiberias of an old-established Arabic-speaking family. Educated at the "Alliance Israelite" School and Rabbinical College, Tiberias, and later (1926-30) at the Law Classes, Jerusalem.

Though a Sephardi, he joined the Zionist Movement in 1910. Started as a teacher of French, Hebrew and Arabic and later worked in his father's business. In 1919 he joined the Police Force under British military administration and subsequently made a career in the Department of Police and Prisons of the Government of Palestine, specialising in criminal investigation. 1927, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Tel Aviv. Instructor (1928) and head (1931) of the Police School in Jerusalem. Left the Police in 1935 to become Magistrate, sitting in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Haifa and other courts. Chief Magistrate, Tel Aviv, 1945; Senior Magistrate, 1947. From 1942 onwards he helped to organise the Sephardim in defence of their rights in the Jewish community and later became chairman of the Sephardic Committee formed for this purpose. As such he entered the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and became Minister of Police and of Minorities in the Provisional Government. Later in the year he pledged his support for a "Popular Party," but as it did not materialise, he headed in 1949 the list of the "Union of Sephardic and Levantine Communities" of which he and three others were elected members of the Knesset. In the new Government he carried on with the same two portfolios, but that of Minorities was abolished in June 1949. In 1951, following the disintegration of the Sephardim movement, he was included in the Mapai list for the elections. He led the Israel delegation to the international conference of Sephardic Jews in Paris in 1951 and is a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955 and continued as Minister of Police in the coalition formed in November of that year by Mr. Ben-Gurion.

Mr. Shitreet is a leisurely and expansive oriental who is as much at home with Arabs as with Jews. Though he has little education and no European experience, he was a competent magistrate, courageous, hard-working and with a reputation for honesty. He appears to be keen on maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force.

108. Sieff, Rebecca

World President, Women's International Zionist Organisation (W.I.Z.O.).

Educated at Manchester University. In 1920, in collaboration with Mrs. Weizmann, she founded and became first President of the London branch of W.I.Z.O. After holding various high offices in the Organisation in the United Kingdom, she was elected World President in 1949. She has since travelled widely on behalf of the Organisation, and devotes her time almost entirely to it.

Mrs. Sieff, who is the wife of Israel Sieff and the sister of Sir Simon Marks, has made Israel her home and is now a distinctive feature of the Israel landscape; she appears to regard herself as equally British and Israeli. A forceful personality, she is now losing her grip but is still carried along by the momentum of many years of public and social activity. When in Israel she entertains extensively at her attractive English-style home in Tel Mond.

109. Simon, Dr. Michael

Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born on September 19, 1901 at Berlin. Studied at the Universities of Berlin, Frankfurt and Tuebingen. Dr. Simon came to Israel in 1924, and in 1925 and 1926 was a teacher at the Hebrew Secondary School at Haifa. In 1926 and 1927 he served as secretary of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem and in the following year he was appointed as editor of the Official Gazette of the Government of Palestine in which position he served until 1934.

He then took up an appointment as general secretary of the Migdal Insurance Company. From 1945 to 1948 Dr. Simon was director of the Jewish Agency Department for Resettlement of Ex-Servicemen. He was a veteran member of the Haganah and participated in actions in 1929 and 1936-40, also in the defence of Jerusalem in 1947-48.

Dr. Simon is a hardworking, somewhat fussy, but on the whole capable bureaucrat, with a wide knowledge and considerable experience. In his job as the first Chief of Protocol he has been ready to recognise his inexperience, and to ask advice from members of the diplomatic corps. He is an enthusiastic sailor and is a reserve officer in the Israel Navy with a proper admiration for the Royal Navy. He is not without a sense of humour of the German type, and is generally pro-British.

He has an intelligent, friendly and voluble wife.

110. Smoira, Moshe

President, Supreme Court.

Born in 1888 at Königsberg. Studied at Universities of Königsberg, Munich, Berlin (law), Giessen, Heidelberg, Frankfurt (Semitics). Served in the German army, 1912-18. Legal practice in Berlin and, since 1923, in Palestine. Lecturer at the Law Classes, Jerusalem, from 1923. Member of the Council of Legal Studies from 1925. Was legal adviser to the Histadrut. President of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem since its inauguration in September 1948.

Dr. Smoira is a sound legal expert, but learned rather than profound. Under his chairmanship the Supreme Court has proved an impartial body independent of political influence. Not well versed in criminal law. Slightly pompous. He is a vice-chairman of the Hebrew University.

111. Sneh, Dr. Moshe

Communist M.K.

Born in 1899 at Radzyn (Poland). Graduated in medicine at Warsaw University (M.D.) but took up journalism and politics, becoming chairman of the Zionist Students' Organisation and later leader of the General Zionist Organisation in Poland. A delegate to Zionist Congresses from 1933, he was elected member of the Zionist Actions Committee in 1935. In 1939 he served as captain in the Polish army, was taken prisoner by the Russians, escaped and reached Palestine via France in 1940. From 1940 to 1946 he served on the staff of the Haganah underground forces, becoming Chief of Staff by 1944, and engaged in organising illegal immigration. He was also active in politics in the "A" Group of General Zionists. In 1945-46 he took a leading part in bringing together the General Zionists "A" and "B" (Left and Right wings) and for a short time presided over the united party. In 1945 he also entered the Jewish Agency Executive and acted as its ambassador at large in Europe.

During this period Dr. Sneh adopted a pro-Soviet orientation and at the end of 1947, having quarrelled with the General Zionist Party and the Jewish Agency, he resigned from both and took a leading part in founding the leftist United Labour Party (Mapam). Though, unlike other participants, he brought with him no organised body, he became a member of the Mapam Central Committee and of the editorial board of the party's newspaper *Al Hamishmar*. In July 1948 he attended the World Jewish Congress and sided with the East European delegates who tried to give it a pro-Soviet bias. Elected Mapam M.K. in 1949, he led the extreme Left wing of the party and in 1949-50 was influential in preventing it from joining Mapai in the Government coalition. He became the leading spirit in the Israel branch of the Soviet-sponsored

"Peace Movement" and secretary of the League for Friendship with the U.S.S.R. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951. In January 1953, he and his supporters broke away from Mapam and formed the "Left Faction," an extreme pro-Soviet group collaborating closely with the Communist Party. In October 1954, the "Faction" disbanded and Sneh formally joined the Communist Party, securing election to the Third Knesset in 1955 on the Communist list.

Dr. Sneh is a good speaker and a clever man, but is regarded by his political opponents as an insincere schemer who turned pro-Soviet for reasons of personal ambition. However, he has not profited from his intrigues for, despite his ability, he is less popular with the Communists than the present leader, Mikunis, and is distrusted by all other parties. He is at present responsible for the preparation of the Communist Party's manifestos.

112. Sprinzak, Joseph

Speaker of the Knesset.

Born in 1886 in Russia. University studies in Russia and Switzerland. Came to Palestine in 1909, already a Zionist-Socialist, and entered the labour movement becoming a leading member of Mapai. Repeatedly represented the Histadrut, of which he was one of the founders, at Zionist congresses; is chairman of the Zionist General Council Presidium. For many years member of the Histadrut Executive, he was its secretary-general from 1935 to 1949. On the board of directors of the Jewish National Fund, Foundation Fund and various other institutions. Was member of the Elected Assembly and Va'ad Leumi Executive. In August 1948 he entered the Provisional Council of State (replacing Mrs. Myerson) and soon after was elected its chairman. Elected Deputy (5th on the Mapai list) in 1949 and president (Speaker) of the Knesset, he relinquished the General Secretariat of the Histadrut in July. During Dr. Weizmann's absences abroad in 1949 and 1950 he acted as President of Israel and in 1951 became acting President for the duration of Dr. Weizmann's illness. Re-elected Speaker of the Second and Third Knessets in 1951 and 1955 respectively.

Mr. Sprinzak is a good chairman with a strong sense of humour and is generally liked and respected in the Knesset, but in his conduct of parliamentary procedure he frequently shows bias in favour of Mapai and the Government coalition. A small man with a large drooping moustache, he cuts a slightly comical figure. A prominent sponsor of cultural and educational institutions. Speaks some English and is very friendly. A close friend of Mr. Ben-Gurion.

113. Tankus, Aloof Mishne Shmuel

Commander, Israel Navy.

Born in Palestine in 1914. Nothing is known of him until, in 1954, he was appointed Commander of the Israel Navy.

Tankus is a quiet and shy man who makes no particular impression on first acquaintance. His naval experience and knowledge is strictly limited though he is recognised as being generally competent.

114. Tekoah, Joseph

Director of Armistice Affairs Division, M.F.A.

Born in Poland in 1925. Educated at the Université l'Aurore in China and Harvard University. Served on the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in New York and Paris in 1948. Settled in Israel in 1949 when he became Deputy Legal Adviser

at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1953 and 1954 he served as the Foreign Ministry Representative on the Mixed Armistice Commissions. In 1955 he became the chief representative of the Mixed Armistice Commissions when responsibility for the latter was transferred from the Ministry of Defence to the Foreign Ministry.

Tekoah has a dogmatic, doctrinaire mind which makes him a difficult and tiresome man with whom to do business, though he is not unfriendly. He enjoys considerable authority in the M.F.A. and works in closely with the Director-General. He is somewhat obsessed with his own importance.

115. Tolkowsky, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Dan

Commander of the Air Force.

Born in Tel Aviv in 1921. Educated in England (B.Sc.). Joined the R.A.F. in 1942 and served as a fighter pilot in 238 Squadron in the Mediterranean theatre from 1943-44. Released as a Flight Lieutenant in 1945. Joined the Israel Air Force in 1948 and played a leading part in planning operations in the Palestine War as a Deputy Director of Operations. In 1950 he was appointed Inspector General, but in 1951 he retired. He was recalled shortly afterwards and appointed Deputy Air Officer Commanding, succeeding Aloof Laskov as Air Officer Commanding in May 1953. Aloof Mishne Tolkowsky, who is the son of the Israel Minister to Switzerland, speaks Hebrew, French and perfect English and is the most highly educated and cultivated of the air force commanders, but beneath an easy Anglo-Saxon manner he is intensely nationalistic, shrewd, secretive and aggressive.

116. Toubi, Tewfik

Communist M.K.

Born in 1922 at Haifa. A founder of the Arab Workers' Congress and one of the leaders of the Arab League for National Liberation, he followed the latter when in 1948 it merged with the (Jewish) Palestine Communist Party to form the united Israel Communist Party. Elected M.K. in 1949 (second on the Communist list) he has been very active in voicing Arab grievances before the Knesset, in the "Peace Movement" and in other forms of agitation. In the summer of 1949 he accompanied Mikunis on a tour of East European capitals. In 1950 he attended the Warsaw Peace Conference and was elected a member of its Presidium. He has attended numerous Peace Conferences. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 and to the Third Knesset in 1955. He visited Moscow with Mikunis in 1952.

He is a Greek Orthodox Christian and is married to a Jewess. He is also alleged to be a former colleague of Haj Amin el Husseini.

117. Tsur, Yaacov

Ambassador to France.

Born at Wilna in 1906 and educated at Jerusalem and at the Universities of Florence and Paris. He came to Palestine in 1921 and in 1926 was employed by the Tel Aviv municipality. He joined the editorial board of *Ha'aretz* in 1929 and later worked in the headquarters of the Jewish National Fund. He was the Jewish Agency's representative in Egypt from 1943-45 and from 1947-48 was chairman of the Mobilisation Committee in Jerusalem. He went to the Argentine as Minister in June 1949. He speaks fluent English and Russian.

118. Wahrhaftig, Zerach

Hapoel Hamizrahi M.K.

Born in Warsaw in 1902. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Warsaw University. He was in private legal practice from 1933 to 1939 and lived in the United States before coming to Palestine in 1945. He was vice-president of Hapoel Hamizrahi, chairman

of the Central Palestine Office from 1936 to 1939 and deputy director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York from 1942 to 1947. From 1947 to 1948 was director of the Law Department of the Va'ad Leumi in Jerusalem. In 1948 became director of the Research Institute for Jewish Law at the Ministry of Justice. He was a member of the Provisional Government Council from 1947 to 1948, and was elected a M.K. in 1949 and in 1951, when he was appointed Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs, a post to which he was reappointed in December 1952. For a few months he was also Chairman of the Knesset Legislation Committee. He was re-elected to the Knesset in 1955.

He is a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he has considerable influence. He is an authority on a wide range of subjects, a Liberal, and a conscientious and earnest legislator. On religious matters he is less extreme than most members of the Orthodox parties.

119. Wilenska, Mrs. Esther

Communist M.K.

Born in Lithuania in 1918. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1933. Joined the Communist Party and became a member of its Central Committee. Meier Wilner, also a Communist Deputy, was her first husband. She was elected to the Political Committee of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945 and to its Central Committee in 1946. She became head of its propaganda office in Haifa in the same year. In July 1951 she was elected to the Knesset on the Communist list and was re-elected in 1955. She has been a municipal councillor at Tel Aviv since 1950. Associate editor of the Communist newspaper, *Kol Ha'am*.

She is certainly one of the leading Communists in Israel and displays great activity. She is thought to be very able, but entirely humourless. A good rabble-rouser, she is regarded by the Israel authorities as a force to be reckoned with.

120. Wilner, Meier

Communist M.K.

Born in Poland in 1919. Educated at the Hebrew University. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1938. Was a member of the Provisional State Council. M.K. since 1949. He has made a series of violent speeches in the Knesset and elsewhere and is often on the verge of being suspended. An active member of the Peace Movement and a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

121. Wydra, Naphthali

Managing Director of Israel Navigation Company, Limited.

Born in Leipzig in 1909. A Doctor of Law and Economist. During the period 1933-36, he was manager of the Haifa Shipping Agency. From 1936-47, he acted as manager of the Maritime Department of the Jewish Agency. He is at present director and manager of "Zim" Israel Navigation Company, Limited, and Shoham Sea Services, Limited, in which capacity he exerts considerable influence on all policy affecting the country's merchant marine.

Dr. Wydra is a courteous man and an easy conversationalist.

122. Yaari, Meir

Mapam M.K. (1949).

Born Reshov (Galicia) in 1897. Educated in Poland, at Vienna University and at the Agricultural Institute in Vienna. Was a pupil of Sigmund Freud. Served in the Austrian army in the First World War.

Came to Palestine in 1920. He was one of the founders of Hashomer Hatzair in Vienna and in Palestine became one of the chief leaders of the party and a member of its world executive. He lives in Kibbutz Merhavia and is a member of the executive of the Kibbutz Artzi. A member of the Zionist General Council and of the Histadrut Executive. In 1949 he was No. 2 on the Mapam list. He afterwards played a leading part in the abortive negotiations with Mapai for the forming of a coalition. In 1951 and 1955 he was re-elected at the head of the party list.

Mr. Yaari is one of the real leaders of Mapam. In the Knesset he has been content to leave Rittin to act as the party's spokesman. At the end of 1952, however, he led the opposition to Sneh in Mapam and eventually forced Sneh and his supporters out of the party in January 1953. He has been active in the peace movement and presided over its first public meeting in Tel Aviv. He is a member of the World Committee of the movement, attended the Warsaw Peace Conference in 1950 and was elected a member of its Presidium. He also attended the World Peace Council in Berlin in 1952.

Unspectacular but effective, he achieves his objectives by slow stages, but with the persistence of a termite.

123. Yadin, Rav-Aloof Yigal

Former Chief of Staff.

Born in 1918 at Jerusalem, son of Professor Sukenik the archaeologist. Studied at the Hebrew University (M.A., archaeology); specialised in history of ancient wars in Palestine and has published various studies. Served in the Haganah from 1933. Was in Wingate's "night squads." A senior Haganah staff officer till 1937, he was District Instructor, Jerusalem, in 1938. After the World War he appears to have been appointed head of a department for planning operations in support of the resistance movement in Palestine, but to have resigned and returned to civilian life in 1946 when the Jewish political leaders were interned. On the outbreak of disturbances following the United Nations Partition Resolution he was called back to active service in December 1947. From then till January 1949, as Chief Operations Officer he successfully directed the campaigns in Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor and the Negev. He then became chief of "G" Branch, took a leading part in the Rhodes armistice negotiations, went on a tour of European countries and in September 1949, was attached to the Prime Minister as personal military adviser. In November 1949, he was promoted to Rav-Aloof (the highest rank) and replaced Dori as Chief of Staff. Presumably in execution of Mr. Ben-Gurion's army policy, his appointment as Chief of Staff was followed by a weeding out of Mapam officers and various measures of military reorganisation. In December 1952, he resigned as Chief of Staff after differences with Mr. Ben-Gurion and was succeeded by the more amenable Makleff. He spent a period of study in England and returned to Israel in 1954. Although

his time is devoted principally to archaeology he keeps in close touch with the leading figures in the country and is generally respected by them.

Rav-Aloof Yadin combines the self-confidence of a locally-born "sabra" with the learning of a Jewish scholar. He has an intimate knowledge of the Palestinian terrain. As Chief of Staff he was inclined to take himself too seriously, but he is fundamentally an agreeable and friendly person. He is undoubtedly able and it is probable that he will sooner or later return to power in Israel in some capacity. Speaks English and Arabic.

124. Zadok, Aloof (Brigadier) Moshe

Officer Commanding Northern Military Command.

Brigadier Zadok came to Palestine from Poland in 1926 at the age of 13 and is believed to have been an active member of the Haganah during most of its existence. He was Adjutant-General of the Israel Army until March 1950, then commanded "8th Command" (a reservists' organisation) until October 1951, when he took over the Southern Command. In the autumn of 1953 he attended the Senior Officers' School in Devizes, after which he took up his present appointment.

He is a kindly, pleasant little man, and is well respected for his shrewdness and commonsense. However, as a Senior Commander he is almost certainly lacking in personality, drive and military knowledge.

125. Zuubi, Seifeddin Muhammad

Arab Democrat M.K.

Born in Nazareth in 1913. Was employed for about ten years as a food inspector by the Nazareth Municipality. In 1944 he became a land broker and it became known that he was being paid by the Jewish National Fund, a fact which considerably embarrassed the Zuubi clan in Nazareth and Galilee. In 1947 his family, which had formed itself into a party, publicly disowned him for his active co-operation with the Jews. An attempt was made on his life by Arabs in 1947. In 1949 he was put up as an Arab candidate for the Knesset by Mapai against the wishes of his clan and was elected as one of the two Nazareth Democratic members. In 1951 and 1955 he was re-elected on the "Israel Arab Democrats" list, who support the Government.

He knows little English or Hebrew and appears to be an opportunist with no strong convictions.

Obituary

Heftman, Joseph Chaim. President, Journalists' Association.

Eliashiv, Shmuel. Ambassador to Soviet Union.